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The Ombudsman

By BRIAN CHAPMAN

The author of "The Profession of Government" briefly outlines the powers of the Scandinavian Ombudsman and comments on the problems presented by the application of the device to British constitutional and political conditions.

THERE are two curious features in the current interest in the Scandinavian Ombudsman. The first is that less than two years ago only a handful of people would have heard of such an office, let alone have had any interest in it. The second is that much of our contemporary public knowledge on the subject relates to the Danish Ombudsmand, an office created in 1955, and not to the original Swedish office which dates in its present form from the 1809 Constitution.

Both these features can be explained, but the explanation, although simple, is also significant, as I hope to show later in this paper. This country was fortunate in having as its guest eighteen months ago, and again recently, the distinguished Danish professor, Stefan Hurwitz, himself the first Danish Ombudsmand. It has been primarily through his talks and broadcasts that such general knowledge as there is on the subject exists.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that for nearly 150 years we remained in wilful and happy ignorance of an important foreign institution. In the space of eighteen months, on the basis of a copy of the original, we have become feverishly concerned as to whether or not we ought to have our own Ombudsman in this country. There are articles and public talks on the subject; we have "Justice," the British section of the International Commission of Jurists, solemnly mounting a research project to look into the matter further, and to make recommendations. We have had the Prime Minister asked whether he would consider an Ombudsman for Britain. And far away in New Zealand the opposition conservative National Party has included a demand for an Ombudsman in its electoral campaign.

THE SWEDISH OMBUDSMAN

There are important differences between the Danish Ombudsmand and the Swedish Ombudsman, which later in this paper assume a certain significance. The Swedish Ombudsman—a title officially, if obscurely, translated as Procurator for Civil Affairs—has origins which go back well before the Constitution of 1809. Since 1915 there has been a second Ombudsman, the Procurator for Military Affairs, to deal with military justice and administration. The origin of these offices stems from a common source, the demand of the Swedish middle classes for protection from the abuse of powers by the Executive, and the partisan use of judicial powers by the Judiciary. It is easy to slip into the position of portraying the Swedish Ombudsman as an

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

auxiliary of the Judiciary able to penetrate where the ordinary courts cannot go. This is untrue. The Ombudsman is very definitely an officer of the Legislature, and one of his important functions in the past has been to protect the public from the wilful, partisan or prejudiced use of judicial powers, as much as to protect it from administrative negligence and administrative spite.

The suspicion of an alliance of interest between the Executive and the Judiciary explains why the Swedish Ombudsman has a special constitutional responsibility for all questions concerning the liberty of the individual; he not only has powers to raise before a superior court questions involving the maladministration of justice, but he also has powers to demand the returns of all prisons, asylums, mental institutions, remand homes, treatment homes for alcoholics, and any other cases involving the detention of persons and the deprivation of liberties.

The Swedish Ombudsman's current instructions specifically require him to exercise general supervision over Courts and Civil Service. He is required to investigate charges of illegality, negligence, or the misuse of an official position. He is required to pay particular attention to offences involving fraud, abuse of power, or which impede the course of justice. He is to ensure that no one in an official position breaks the constitution, the laws of the land, or the very detailed Letters of Instruction by which, in Sweden, administrative duties are assigned to administrative boards and agencies. He has no powers over municipal administration, but powers over certain branches of provincial administration where offices may be staffed by central officials.

In practical terms, the Ombudsman utilizes two methods for carrying out these functions.

First, he investigates complaints sent to him by members of the public alleging wrongful behaviour by civil servants or magistrates. It is not necessary for the complainant to employ legal advice, but it is not uncommon to do so. The complainant is expected to forward any papers, or the names of witnesses corroborating his allegations. Once the complaint has been received in the Ombudsman's office the case proceeds largely by correspondence: the Ombudsman forwarding the complaint to the official concerned requesting an explanation; the office returning its version of the affair together with any relevant documents. The Ombudsman, if satisfied, informs the complainant of the official explanation. If he is not satisfied, or if the complainant adduces further evidence, or challenges the official version, the Ombudsman will continue his investigations until either the complaint is found to be justified, or eventually dismissed as unjustified.

The second method of supervising public offices is for the Ombudsman to undertake periodic tours of inspection in the provinces or central offices, normally giving only a day's notice of his intention. These inspections are at random, and they may concentrate on the financial affairs of the office concerned. Sometimes they are set off by public complaints or newspaper rumours, more rarely by confidential disclosures. The Ombudsman or his deputy carry out about four or five tours of inspection a year, each tour

THE OMBUDSMAN

lasting a week or so. In the ordinary way, therefore, the country is covered about once every eight years.

The Military Ombudsman has a similar role in the field of defence and military administration. Any Swedish serviceman has the right to communicate directly with the Military Ombudsman without his commanding officer's permission or censorship—an extension to the services of the right possessed by civil prisoners to communicate directly to the Civil Ombudsman without censorship by the prison authorities.

If a complaint by an individual or a serviceman is found to be justified, and about a third are, the appropriate Ombudsman has a range of possible actions open to him. In judicial administration he has no power to reverse a decision, but he can bring the case to the attention of a superior court if there has been an apparent miscarriage or perversion of justice.

In administrative cases he may simply recommend the official concerned to amend his decision in the light of the facts of the case. If the official concerned agrees to do this, the Ombudsman advises the complainant accordingly. An Ombudsman would normally do this when it was clear that there had been a genuine error or minor administrative fault.

Where there has been a fault of some substance, for instance, the misuse of public property, the Ombudsman can suggest that the official or magistrate concerned should make restitution, as an alternative to prosecution. In the final resort, when, for instance, a Provincial Governor has arbitrarily impounded a fishing vessel, the Ombudsman will prosecute in the Courts. He has no punitive powers in his own right; he simply has the authority to prosecute. According to my figures some ten such prosecutions occur on average each year. In the past such proceedings have involved Cabinet Ministers, as well as heads of Ministries, and of administrative boards. The Ombudsman, however, requires the permission of the Riksdag before proceeding against a Minister or a senior Judge, and, if granted, he acts as prosecutor before the Court of Impeachment.

THE DANISH OMBUDSMAN

There are important differences between the Swedish Ombudsman and the Danish Ombudsmand. The Danish Ombudsmand has no powers over judicial administration; he is, furthermore, not working within an administrative context as closely circumscribed as the Swedish system, with its tightly drafted constitution, its Letters of Instruction, its powerful parliamentary committee system, its Supreme Administrative Court, its clear distinction between the policy-making Cabinet and the administrative boards. The Danish Ombudsmand exercises both civil and military jurisdiction, and at the moment has no powers over municipal administration: recent legislative proposals, however, would extend his powers into this field.

The Danish Ombudsmand's powers are based on an article of the 1953 Constitution which provided that "The Folketing shall by Statute provide for the appointment of one or two persons, who shall not be Members of Parliament, to control the civil and military administration of the State."

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The empowering Statute required the Ombudsman "to keep himself informed whether any one subject to his authority commits injustice or acts negligently in the performance of his official duties." For this purpose he was given access to government documents and may require civil servants to give evidence. He is not allowed to take up questions of a political kind, but he is allowed to question Ministers acting in their capacity as administrative head of a department involved in an investigation.

The Ombudsman has powers similar to his Swedish colleague to visit any state institution, including prisons and mental homes, and prisoners are also entitled to communicate directly and confidentially with the Ombudsman.

In recent articles and talks, Professor Hurwiz has drawn attention to the wide variety of cases with which he has had to deal in the last few years. A schoolmaster complained that he was being victimized for atheistic opinions which he held privately but did not allow to influence his duty to give religious instruction at school; a woman protested that she had been insulted by a bus conductor when she had asked him to enforce a no smoking rule on a public service vehicle; a university vice-chancellor was accused of nepotism in promoting a relation whose academic qualifications left something to be desired; drunken drivers alleged discrimination by the police in withdrawing licences; the Foreign Office was accused of negligence in employing a diplomat of dubious moral standards who was caught selling N.A.T.O. secrets to the Polish Government; prison officers were alleged to have diluted the quality of coffee issued to prisoners.

APPLICATION TO BRITISH CONDITIONS

At this point I should like to turn to the rather wider issues which are raised by some of the proposals for creating a post comparable to that of the Ombudsman in this country. There seems little doubt that the Scandinavian countries, and the Swedes in particular, are to be congratulated on their institutional achievement. The Ombudsman is clearly one of the reasons why Sweden has public services of an integrity, impartiality, and authority hardly matched, if at all, in any other country. It is still too early to comment upon the work of the Danish Ombudsman, but it already seems clear that he is filling a gap in Danish public life. But the success of these institutions in Scandinavia does not necessarily mean that it would be possible or desirable to introduce such an official into this country.

In some ways the cult of the Ombudsman for Britain falls into a tradition which was established over a quarter of a century ago by Lord Hewart in his insane masterpiece, *The New Despotism*. It is reiterated in the works of many distinguished jurists of the 1930s and 1940s, and reached its zenith in some of the legal writing between 1945 and 1951.

The thesis of this argument is that the Civil Service has replaced Parliament as the effective source of government in this country; in some of the wilder writers we find dark hints of a conspiracy to dispossess the legislature and to govern by orders and regulations.

THE OMBUDSMAN

By the late 1940s there seems to have been a change of emphasis, and we saw the movement led with such skill and persuasiveness by Professor Hamson, the movement for administrative courts ; or, more precisely, a move to create something comparable to the French Conseil d'Etat.

This movement towards administrative courts was an important topic in the early 1950s, and significant in the context of the Ombudsman. The movement was largely based on the antagonisms of the legal profession to the growth of ministerial powers exercised by the Civil Service which escaped the control of the Courts, and which should have been controlled by Parliament but were not for a variety of political, constitutional, and institutional reasons. The highlight of the campaign was provided, as will be remembered, by the Crichel Down affair. This case assumed a prominence out of all proportion to the administrative errors disclosed. The most significant point to me in the Crichel Down affair was not so much that some civil servants were guilty of error, but the extravagance of language used by Sir Andrew Clark in his report, some of it reminiscent of Lord Hewart's work, and the savage and vicious attacks which the report touched off. I should think any provincial solicitor could quote almost daily instances of far worse cases of partiality and prejudice in magistrates' courts without this invoking more than a shrug from those most furious in their denunciation of the Civil Service.

As we know, the Crichel Down affair led to the appointment of the Franks' Committee. It was realized, probably too late, that to allow the Committee to enquire into matters comparable to the events leading up to the scandal would allow it to enquire into those details of policy making and the relations between Ministers and civil servants which not only Ministers, but also members of the Shadow Cabinet, are only too anxious to defend from profane view. The limitations imposed on the Franks' Committee seem to me important in the context of the Ombudsman since the constitutional arguments invoked to protect the inner machinery of British government from outside inspection would certainly be invoked, and similar restrictions imposed, as far as an Ombudsman would be concerned.

When the Committee reported it was evident to the more intelligent supporters of administrative courts that its recommendations marked the limits within the Constitution to which they could go. But these recommendations left outside the control of the Courts, and of the legal profession in general, many of the sectors of the British social service state which have in reality been the real source of the fury and agitation of Lord Hewart and his successors over the last quarter of a century, in particular in the restrictions it has placed on the rights of property. It seems to me that over the last decades the Civil Service has become a closed corporation, and that it has developed an ethos of public service not previously possessed by those in the inner circles of government, and that the civil servant now tends to subordinate private interests to public needs, and to regard his primary role as that of protector of the public good from private depredation. And this tendency is obviously fundamentally different from that of groups in society who believe in the sanctity of property, the right to enjoy private wealth, and the maintenance of the laws of contract.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

This partly explains the rather schizophrenic approach of many lawyers to the problem of controlling public administration. The Courts in this country have always been rather Hobbesian in their outlook to the sovereignty of the Cabinet through Parliament which we have dignified with the name of stable government. One of the implications of this is that the Government should be able to carry on its operations in secret. And in the fields of law and order, of colonial affairs, of foreign affairs, of defence policy, and so on, the Courts have willingly accepted an authoritarianism and a degree of executive discretion which would never be tolerated in Sweden. There are probably few constitutional lawyers in this country who would find anything seriously wrong with Gladstone's dictum to the House of Commons that "Your business is not to govern the country, but it is, if you think fit, to call to account those who govern it." We find it perfectly normal for a Minister to refuse to give permission to build a new town without giving reasons, or for defence policy to be debated in Parliament with a complete absence of technical information or advice, except such as is filtered to the House through the Minister himself, who is unlikely to be a disinterested party. We find it perfectly normal to have no information about the conduct of important foreign negotiations, nor do we consider asking why a Minister is unable to give information about prohibited immigrants to territories under his control. We are not even surprised—constitutionally speaking—that a bare refusal by the Prime Minister to discuss the case should mean that no enquiry is possible into the responsibility and credit for the Suez operation.

DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS

This situation seems to be inherent in the British system of government under our existing constitutional and political practice. But compare it to the system of government within which the Swedish Ombudsman operates, a system based on traditional suspicion of arbitrary executive power. The administrative and political functions of government are as far as possible separated from each other by the use of the Royal Administrative Boards; the duties, responsibilities and powers of these boards are closely defined in Letters of Instruction; the operations of administrative tribunals are subject to the control and review of the Supreme Administrative Court; all official documents are available to public inspection unless specifically certified by the Cabinet as secret on grounds of defence or foreign relations. The policy function of the Cabinet is supervised constantly by an elaborate system of parliamentary committees acting on detailed information. Consider, for instance, that even in what we would regard as that most delicate of fields, the conduct of foreign affairs, the drafters of the Swedish constitutions took particular pains to ensure the participation of the Legislature and limit the powers of the Executive. Article 54 of the Constitution is quite explicit: "The members of the (parliamentary) committee of foreign affairs . . . shall be members of an advisory council to confer with the Crown concerning the relations of the realm with foreign powers. Conference with this advisory council must take place before all matters of major importance relating to foreign affairs are decided. When a matter comes up for consideration all

THE OMBUDSMAN

available documents and information shall be communicated. The decisions made by the Crown in matters which have been the subject of a conference with the council shall be communicated to its members not later than the next meeting."

It is into this type of system that an Ombudsman naturally fits. He is one of several institutions designed to curb the misuse of public powers, and, in the view of most Swedish writers, by no means the most important one. He fills in the gaps between the other countervailing forces, dealing with those questions of administrative negligence or error which cannot be dealt with by political or judicial means. One can easily see how an Ombudsman fits into a system which deliberately emphasizes the minute and exact accounting of the exercise of powers from the lowliest clerk in government service to the Foreign Minister himself. He is one pillar of a system which distrusts secret administration, and which holds that the greater the power the greater the need for public control. In short, he reflects a public philosophy quite alien to us.

Now as I have said previously, supporters of an Ombudsman for Britain argue that they have the Danish rather than the Swedish Ombudsman in mind. I think this is mainly due to their realization that the Danish system of government is closer to ours than is the Swedish system. But consider the results of adopting the Danish type of Ombudsmand. He would, first, have no jurisdiction over the administration of justice, an important and necessary feature of the Swedish system.

Second, he would have wide powers in the field of local government; even as at present constituted his jurisdiction would extend to the police and education. Many of his other powers would allow him to interfere with what are in Britain independent public bodies such as the universities, and perhaps the Prison Commissioners. It is true, of course, that these are all state functions in Denmark, but the Ombudsman's supporters in this country welcome the idea of a formal extension of his jurisdiction into municipal government. But it is as well to realize that an Ombudsman on the Danish model would represent a very important innovation in the whole field of local government as well as in central government.

Third, the Ombudsman would be excluded from dealing with "political" questions, except presumably at the invitation of the Government. One rightly wonders what such a clause could possibly mean in a British context. It would certainly be used to exclude from his enquiry all details of ministerial policy making, the exercise of discretion vested in the Minister by Parliament, and the relations between a Minister and his civil servants which we are repeatedly told cannot be the subject of enquiry or intervention by outsiders, lest the free, impartial, and frank exchange of views between a Minister and his advisers should be jeopardized.

This would surely and inevitably mean that it would be local government officials, police officers, and minor civil servants who would bear the brunt of the Ombudsman's investigations. The magistrates would escape, senior civil servants would generally be exempt, Ministers always so except with their own permission.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Such a system has for me three vices. First, it is morally obnoxious to harry small people unless their superiors are equally subject to supervision and control. Only in a Swedish context of constitutional and political limitation on the exercise of public powers does it seem to me legitimate to introduce such a device as the Ombudsman.

Second, the Ombudsman would afford no protection from the political misuse of administrative powers, a field which above all others seems to me to require public safeguards. I doubt whether the Danish Ombudsmand provides such protection in Denmark, and I am sure that whatever view one takes of British government it seems inconceivable that an Ombudsman would be allowed those powers of enquiry which have consistently been denied to the Courts and to Parliament itself.

But, third, it may be argued that it is better to have someone to investigate the constable who slaps an errand boy than to have no one at all. But I would argue that this diverts attention from the basic point at issue in all this discussion. The control of public administration is above all a political matter which can ultimately be solved only by political means. It is perfectly proper for writers and publicists to be concerned at the extent of the arbitrary powers of the Executive in this country today ; but it is quite unreasonable to turn on public servants for being responsible for this situation.

The failure lies squarely on Parliament, and to some extent on the parliamentary leaders. It is indeed an indication of decline in the status of Parliament and the standing of Members of Parliament that one should be hunting around in this way for some way of filling a lacuna which Parliament itself should fill. It is lamentable to find it seriously proposed that the right way to protect the citizen is by the appointment of an official, rather than by adapting parliamentary institutions to meet this new and urgent need. It would seem to me far more consonant with British history to appoint a permanent standing committee of enquiry of Members of Parliament, with its own staff, than to search around for a substitute, with inadequate powers, and those misdirected.

But we should, perhaps, bear in mind that the present system is to the advantage of those who operate it, and those who operate it are the only people who can change it.

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The Rt. Hon. Sir Alexander Spearman, Bart. (1793-1874)

GLADSTONE'S INVALUABLE PUBLIC SERVANT

By SIR JOHN WINNIFRITH, K.C.B.

Many people seem to be under the impression that the higher Civil Service was of poor calibre until the reforms of 1855 started to replace patronage by the examination system. But there were many distinguished and able civil servants in the first half of the nineteenth century. One of these was Sir Alexander Spearman who was permanent head of the Treasury from 1836-40.

FEW, apart from those who study the history of public administration, now remember Spearman and you search in vain for his record in the Dictionary of National Biography. Yet he has every claim to be remembered as one of the most remarkable public servants of his age, who did much to establish the reputation of the Civil Service and to influence its traditions in the critical phase of its development in the nineteenth century.

The bare facts of his career are that he entered the Civil Service in 1808 at the age of fifteen and did not retire till 1873, when he was eighty. A serious illness in 1840 put him on the retired list for ten years, but he recovered, was given another senior appointment and served in it for twenty-three more years. His active service, therefore, covered fifty-five years. Other cases could be found to match even this remarkable span of service, but Spearman was not only holding office; for a considerable part of the nineteenth century he was holding senior posts in the service and establishing a reputation of being one of the most respected and well-trusted advisers of the statesmen of that period. Even if overshadowed by his great successor Trevelyan, he was one of the outstanding public servants of the time.

HIS EARLY CAREER

Alexander Young¹ Spearman was the eldest son of Major Spearman, R.A., of Thornley, Co. Durham. Born in 1793, he entered the public service, under the old patronage system, in 1808 at the age of fifteen. The record of his entry has not been traced, but the date is given, incidentally, in a later Treasury paper.²

He first came to notice in 1822 when he was appointed to carry out an investigation into the Stationery Office. A Committee of the House of Commons had unearthed a series of scandals. Officials had been borrowing money from the department's contractors. Sir Matthew Bloxham, who held the office of Storekeeper and was one of the offenders, had the good taste to die and Mr Dickson, the Controller, already far advanced in years,

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

was saved from the wrath of Parliament by an attack of apoplexy. Spearman's report dealt with the system of purchase by the Stationery Office and with the organization of its staff and was at once adopted.³ At the same time he was appointed Controller in the place of the aged and apoplectic Mr Dickson and was given the chance to carry out his own recommendations. He was not long employed in this way. Early in 1824 he was transferred to the Treasury as an Assistant Clerk in the Revenue Department and Clerk of the Parliamentary Accounts. In 1827 he was appointed Private Secretary to Mr Herries, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1831 he was made Auditor of the Civil List with the rank of Principal Clerk, simultaneously "acting as Assistant to the Secretaries* and Assistant Secretary in the despatch of the general business of the office."⁴

OFFICIAL HEAD OF THE TREASURY 1836-40

It was a natural step from this appointment to the senior appointment in the office and the service. Soon after he had been made Auditor of the Civil List, a Treasury Minute records that the duties of this post were analogous to those of Assistant Secretary and that the person holding the situation should rank in the Office next to the Assistant Secretary. When Col. the Hon. James Stewart retired, Spearman was the obvious successor, and was duly appointed in January 1836 to be Assistant Secretary—the title by which the top post in the Treasury was known till 1867 when the present title of Permanent Secretary was introduced. It was a great tragedy that his health broke down so soon after his appointment and that he had only four short years in the senior post. But he was still to give considerable public service and his breakdown had at least the fortunate by-product of bringing in Trevelyan as his successor as official head of the Treasury.

It is hard at this point of history to attempt an appreciation of Spearman's capacity at the Treasury. But one can fairly claim that at the time he was recognized as a past master in all branches of Treasury business and an official of outstanding capacity. To have been given the top post at the age of forty-three is in itself presumptive evidence of his merit, since there is no suggestion that he was favoured by patronage or that he got the job for any reason but his undoubted merit. And there is considerable evidence that in his four years of office he consolidated his reputation, not only for the industry which was to cause his breakdown, but for his wise judgement and his unrivalled knowledge of Treasury business.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE 1848

One good proof of the esteem in which he was held is to be found in the minutes of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure of 1848. The Treasury had only just got under the harrow of Parliamentary scrutiny of their expenditure following the gradual transfer of the cost of the Treasury from fees to Parliamentary Votes. As a result they had to answer for the

*i.e. the two political Secretaries—the Patronage and Revenue (or Financial) Secretary.

THE RT. HON. SIR ALEXANDER SPEARMAN, BART. (1793-1874)

size of their establishment which, at a total of 105 (including eight Ministers) looks modest enough by present standards, and on their general organization. The remarkable thing was that the first witness called was Spearman. By then he had been eight years out of the Treasury and was still in retirement after his breakdown. At the very least he might have been regarded as a bit rusty in his knowledge of Treasury methods and organization. He himself, in his opening statement, made it clear that he had last been personally concerned with the preparation of estimates in 1835. He then went on in an authoritative manner to describe the working of the system and his successor, the then Clerk of Parliamentary Accounts, had little to do except to confirm the accuracy of his old chief's statement. It is quite clear, from the proceedings and from the report, that he was listened to, even after his retirement from the Treasury, as a great authority of its proceedings. Later in the inquiry Trevelyan was called upon to give evidence. It was not, of course, until 1853 that the Trevelyan-Northcote Report on the Civil Service was to be published, with one of its main recommendations the separation of the mechanical from the intellectual work in the Civil Service, but already, in his evidence to the 1848 Committee, Trevelyan was seeking support for this idea. He invited the Committee to say that the employment of the greater part of the Treasury establishment on the recording and communicating of Treasury decisions—of men earning from £300 to £1,000 a year—was extravagant. He explained that before the Napoleonic wars part of the establishment was also employed "in the actual transaction of business" but, owing to the confusion caused by the increase of business, the present system was adopted which he now suggested ought to be reformed. The task of recording and communicating Treasury decisions was mechanical work which dulled the intelligence of the better type of entrant, so that if only "for the sake of economy it could be entrusted to a different type of employee of the law stationery clerk type and the appalling pressure on the few officials responsible for the intellectual work of assisting the Board to reach their decisions could be relieved by supporting them with more assistants." Since, *ex hypothesi*, the rest of the office would no longer include those who had the potential for this work, the higher staff in future would have to be brought in from outside the Treasury.⁵

Throughout this hearing Spearman had been present and at the next sitting he was called on to give his opinion. It was, he confessed in his opening sentence, "in entire disaccordance." His evidence was to the effect that Trevelyan had underrated the importance of the work of record and communication. It required a knowledge of procedure and form which could only be acquired by long experience. Secondly, that experience was required as training for those called on for the superior work done by the principal officials in helping the Board to reach their decisions. "A gentleman, let his intelligence be what it may, who comes for the first time into the higher branches of the Treasury, having no previous knowledge whatsoever, either of the mode of doing business in the Treasury, or of the regulations by which the Treasury is governed in relation to other Departments of the State, must find himself very much at sea for a very considerable period of time."⁶

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I mention this incident not to show that Spearman was right and Trevelyan wrong. The significant point is the immense authority which Spearman commanded. The Select Committee in their report were not prepared "to express an opinion favourable to the suggestion of Sir Charles Trevelyan* in view of the objection of gentlemen of high authority in the Department." No significant change was as a result made at the time and when, in 1856, Treasury organization was eventually changed, the decision, largely on the recommendation of James Wilson, the then Financial Secretary, recognized the wisdom in both points of view; from then on, and indeed up to present times, the system has been to combine policy and record work in each of the administrative divisions.⁷ As a result the intolerable strain on senior officials was reduced through the help which they got from the rest of the establishment. But the rest of the establishment got the benefit of the training and discipline of the work of recording and promulgating decisions.

TREASURY MINUTE OF 1840

Another proof of the regard in which Spearman was held is to be found in the action taken when his health broke down in 1840. A Treasury Minute was laid before Parliament, recording appreciation of his service, regretting his illness "occasioned, to a large extent, by his official exertions" and noting Her Majesty's intention to bestow on him a mark of Royal Favour. The Minute went on to award the pension of £1,333 (two-thirds of salary) to which Spearman was entitled under the Superannuation Act of 1834 and proposed to increase this under the special dispensing powers of Section 17 (later repealed) to £1,350, "not with a view to marking, by a small increase of income, their Lordships' sense of his most meritorious exertions, but in order to bring under the attention of the House of Commons and of other public servants the high official character and service of Mr Spearman." Finally, in the Minute, My Lords of the Treasury expressed their anxious hope that Mr Spearman's perfect recovery may, at a future time, render his "zeal, abilities and experience available in some branch of the public service."⁸

The mark of the Royal Favour soon followed with the conferment of a Baronetcry—an unusual distinction for a civil servant.[†] There can be no doubt that Spearman had already at this point established a very considerable reputation.

He was indeed the perfect Treasury all rounder. His career had taken him into all the main branches of the Treasury. In the Revenue Department (the predecessor of the present Home Finance Division) he had learned the mysteries of how the Government financed its day to day expenditure and had shown special aptitude for this work. As Clerk of the Parliamentary

*Trevelyan was handled roughly by the Committee on another point. They quizzed him about his gratuity of £2,500, given as a reward for his prodigious labours on the Irish famine—it was equal to a year's salary—and in their Report objected to extra remuneration for extra service, however meritorious and ably performed.

†He was made a Privy Councillor in 1869—again a very unusual honour for a civil servant at that time.

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Accounts he had mastered the procedures for securing Parliamentary authority for expenditure. As Private Secretary to the Chancellor and later as Assistant to the two junior Treasury Ministers he had seen the full working of the machinery for securing ministerial approval for all questions requiring Treasury approval.

ORGANIZATION AND ESTABLISHMENT WORK

Apart from all his finance experience, he had done his share of what would now be called establishment and organization work. The inquiry into the organization of the Stationery Office, and his short appointment as Controller, had been admirable training and in his later career at the National Debt Office he was to show that he had great interest in and a genius for organization and staff management. In his short time as head of the Treasury he did not make any changes, but one little incident shows his interest in staff welfare. There had been complaints about the service of the caterer who had the use of the kitchen in the Treasury and provided meals for the staff. Spearman made regulations designed to keep him up to the mark and laid down a tariff* not to be exceeded without his authority. For the messengers there was a special tariff enabling them to get cold meat and potatoes "at something approaching cost price."

Spearman had, of course, his faults, the chief of which was undoubtedly his failure to realize that even his prodigious energy could not survive the intolerable handicap of faulty organization. The evidence before the Select Committee of 1848, to which I have referred, shows the appalling burden which the system threw on a handful of senior officials. Every single decision by the Treasury, however trivial the subject matter, had to be taken by a Minister—by the Junior Lords sitting as the Board, if not by the Chancellor or one of the two Parliamentary Secretaries. This control by Ministers of every decision, in the view of Sir Francis Baring, the then Chancellor, was an essential feature of the system.⁹

Whatever view may be taken of the sense of that procedure, what was intolerable was that the task of preparing an appreciation of the case and of advising Ministers on the decision was left entirely to the Assistant Secretary and three other senior officers. And the work was done thoroughly. The whole case was set out in a draft minute which was then formally read to the Board by the official concerned. Some of Spearman's draft minutes survive; for example, one recommending a credit of £2,830 to pay the cost of throwing open to the public free of charge on Queen Victoria's Coronation day a number of theatres in London and the suburbs. The whole of this minute is drafted in Spearman's own hand.)¹⁰

It is not surprising then that the over-work caused by this attempt to do the greater part of the task of bringing to decision all Treasury business with a small senior staff of four persons should have caused a breakdown. There was every justification for the opinion by Spearman's doctors,

*The most expensive item was soup. "Recipe" soup cost 1s. and must have been powerful stuff whatever the quantity provided. By contrast for 6d. you could get a mutton chop weighing one-third of a pound with potatoes and bread.

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Sir Benjamin Brodie and Dr Ferguson, warning him that if he continued to be occupied as he had been lately he would lose his chance of ultimate recovery.

Trevelyan told the 1848 Committee much the same story. He told them that he had to work three hours at home before breakfast before carrying on all day at the Treasury until his strength was exhausted and he went home to sleep the greater part of the evening. There was no time for any social enjoyment. Spearman ought to have seen that, though Trevelyan was wrong to suggest the complete divorce between the business of advising Ministers on policy and the task of recording and promulgating those decisions, he was absolutely right to insist that the senior staff required more assistance.

Spearman fortunately recovered. Already in 1848 he had been brought back to serve as a member of a Commission to inquire into the Establishment of the Customs and Coastguard. In 1850 he returned to the public service as Secretary and Comptroller of the National Debt Office—a post which he was to hold for the next twenty-three years.

SECRETARY AND COMPTROLLER OF THE NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE 1850-73

In the minute of appointment, Sir Charles Wood, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointed out that Spearman's experience in financial affairs made him particularly suitable for the National Debt Office in view of the legislation contemplated by the Government with regard to the Savings Banks.¹¹ These were prophetic words. The next decade saw Bill after Bill on savings and was the most important and critical in the history of the Trustee Savings Banks, and indeed in the whole savings movement. There was as yet no Post Office Savings Bank, but a strong savings movement flourished in the Trustee Savings Banks. But controversy was acute on many points—on the machinery for the local management of the many independent Trustee Banks and on the State's duty in regard to their deposits. Was it, as Mr Gladstone maintained, graphically but a little unfortunately, enough for the depositors that they could not "have a better security"? And, "if you give them that, they have no interest in the employment of the money—it does not signify to them if you fling it to the bottom of the sea." Or was the State a trustee, obliged to lay out the money to give the best possible return to the investors? Feeling ran so high that Mr Gladstone had at times to bow to the storm, to withdraw some of his Bills and to appoint a Select Committee—only to reject its main findings. And in the end he was to set up the Post Office Savings Bank in the Act of 1861 as the only means of dealing with the opposition to his ideas. At the same time the role of the Trustee Savings Banks and the machinery for their management was finally resolved in the Act of 1863.

All this gave full scope to the ablest Comptroller ever appointed to the National Debt Office. Not only was there all the work on the preparation of the Bills, there was evidence to be given to the Select Committee of 1858—and always the management of the deposits, in those days an extremely important instrument in public finance. And there was always the task of maintaining relations with the high-minded and influential champions of the

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Trustee Savings Banks, resentful of the Government's attitude to them. In this Spearman was particularly successful and he left his office with the reputation of one who, though critical of the faults in the system, was always just and a faithful champion of the best interests of the movement.

Two other of Spearman's activities during his service at the National Debt Office are worth mentioning.

REPORT ON ORGANIZATION

First, in this appointment Spearman once again showed his interest in organization. One of his first acts was to make an enquiry into the organization of his office and to make recommendations about its establishment.* His report came forward in 1855 just when Mr Gladstone was giving up office as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Gladstone bequeathed to his successor, Sir George Lewis, two memoranda in his own hand. The first said :

"I cannot hand over to my successor the accompanying paper on the Establishment of the National Debt Office without expressing in a marked manner my sense of the great and growing importance to which I had designed to intrust with the approval of Parliament other important functions in addition to those which it at present discharges.

"The recommendations of Sir A. Spearman must derive the greatest weight from the authority, ability, and trustworthiness of that invaluable public servant."

The second memorandum urged most strongly that some additional allowance should be assigned to Sir A. Spearman on the ground that "a great change had been taking place in the character of his office. Formerly one of routine it had grown into an office of Finance and he had looked to it in conjunction with that held by Mr Anderson (in charge of the Revenue Division at the Treasury) as the two pillars of a fixed tradition and a real financial system."¹²

Mr Gladstone's suggestion was met in substance, though in a way which was to lead to considerable trouble when Spearman came to retire. His point about the importance of the National Debt Office and the system of government finance was far from exaggerated. If proof were needed, it was found in the very next year when the great increase in expenditure caused by the Crimean War soon exceeded the limits of revenue and the situation could be met only by drawing on the Trustee Savings Banks deposits.

THE NORTHCOTE-TREVELYAN REPORT 1853

The other intervention by Spearman in this period had nothing to do with the National Debt Office. In 1853 the Northcote-Trevelyan Report on the Civil Service was published. Its main recommendations were that entry should be by a centrally conducted competitive examination, that the service

*On appointment in 1850 he at once made office rules. There was to be regular cross-posting to qualify candidates for promotion in all branches of the office's work. Promotion was not to go on "mere seniority." This was three years before the Northcote-Trevelyan report. (See NDO. 5310/1855.)

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should be unified, that promotion should be by merit and not seniority, and that the mechanical should be separated from the intellectual work, new graduate entrants being spared the drudgery of the routine work. The exordium remarked that "entry into the Civil Service is indeed eagerly sought after, but it is for the unambitious and the indolent or incapable, that it is chiefly desired."

Comment on the report was invited and Spearman amongst others was asked to say what he thought of the recommendations. His reply, with those of others, is printed in an unnumbered Command paper of 1855. He made two main points.

First, he rejected Trevelyan's premise that reform of the system of entry was required because of the low standards of those who found their way into the service under the existing system. He admitted that there were weaker brethren but maintained with every justification that the service contained many men of good education and ability and that a responsible Head of a Department saw to it that standards were maintained.

Secondly, he made the admirable point that it was no good inviting the flower of the country's intellect to enter the Civil Service unless there was adequate scope for their talents and ambitions. Much of the work to be done was inevitably routine and the plums were few and far between. Spearman noted in passing that it would, of course, be all to the good if such few plums as existed were always made available, in the absence of a good candidate from the Department, to a suitably qualified man from another Department.

He went on to make two further telling points. It was all very well to segregate the work into intellectual and mechanical, but the gain secured by sparing the intellectuals their share of routine was offset by the depressing effect on the others of being dubbed for all time as mechanicals without hope of advancement. Secondly, any system of throwing every vacancy open to the fittest person opened every promotion to the danger of favouritism. For the junior appointments promotion by seniority, subject to competence, was a better system, just as, other things being equal, the top posts in any Department should go to staff in the Department, instead of being thrown open on all occasions to the best man in the service as a whole.

Spearman's report was, of course, largely a restatement of the points he had made before the Select Committee five years before.

THE PENSION DIFFICULTY

One last incident in his career is worth recording, if only to show the strong regard in which Spearman continued to be held by successive Chancellors of the Exchequer. In 1873 Spearman was already ill and anxious to retire, and the question of his pension had to be settled. It is, of course, a fundamental feature of the superannuation law that pension is based on pay. When Spearman had been Assistant Secretary to the Treasury the pay of the post was £2,000, rising to £2,500 after five years' service. Since he had not served the full five years when his health broke down, his ill-health pension of £1,350 had been based on two-thirds of his salary of £2,000 with the small

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addition recorded earlier in this article. On appointment to the National Debt Office he was given the maximum salary authorized for the Comptroller-General, i.e. £1,500. Simultaneously, however, he was allowed to draw £500 of his sick pay pension. More than that he could not draw under the provisions of Section 20 of the Superannuation Act of 1834* which laid down that any pensioner appointed to a new office should not draw more in combined salary and pension than the emoluments of the old office from which he had retired to draw a pension.

Mr Gladstone's valedictory injunction in 1855 to his successor, Sir George Lewis, that Spearman's pay ought to be increased resulted in a further improvement in his position. The official Treasury view ought, of course, to have recognized that Mr Gladstone was right in saying that the post of Comptroller-General of the National Debt Office had grown in importance and to have marked this with an allowance, if not an increase in the basic salary. But presumably they wanted at all costs to avoid any precedent for increasing the pay of the post. So once again they decided to resort to a manipulation of Spearman's pension. A Treasury minute pointed out that if Spearman had remained Assistant Secretary to the Treasury for a further year his salary would have gone up to £2,500. Accordingly, in their view £2,500 could fairly be regarded as the ceiling under the Act of 1834 and it was directed that in addition to his basic pay of £1,500 from the National Debt Office, Spearman should from then on draw £1,000 of his retired allowance. A copy of the minute was directed to be laid before Parliament, but a pencil note on the file recorded that the minute was not to be laid "Mr Wilson (the then Financial Secretary) deeming it unnecessary."¹³

In 1873, now that the question of pension had to be settled the difficulties of this decision emerged. Under any provision of the Superannuation Acts, Spearman's pension could be based only on the salary of his office. The salary of the office from which he was retiring was palpably £1,500 and no more. The Superannuation Division wrote minute after minute using arguments and, indeed, language that would have been used by their successors today to show that this was the inescapable conclusion. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Robert Lowe, was determined that Spearman should get better treatment and in the end he wrote a minute to the effect that ever since 1855 Spearman had been enjoying a salary of £1,500 and an allowance of £1,000. His pension could, therefore, be based on total emoluments of £2,500 and under the special provisions of Section 9 of the Act of 1859 (alas now repealed) he should be awarded a pension of the full salary and emoluments in pay at the time of retirement, i.e. a pension of £2,500.¹⁴

This was a splendid and masterful decision—and totally illegal. The £1,000 drawn in addition to the basic pay of £1,500 had ever since 1855 been paid from the non-effective Vote. Any novice in the Treasury could have told Mr Robert Lowe that the one test of salary is that it should be paid from an effective Vote. A coach and six, in however good a cause, had been driven through the Superannuation law. Mr Robert Lowe's gesture, however,

*This section alone of the 1834 Act still remains on the Statute Book to the grief of Staff Associations, who for many years have campaigned for its repeal.

never attracted notice and was largely labour in vain. Spearman was already dying and the end came in 1874. There is a sympathetic account by Rivers Wilson, the Chancellor's Private Secretary who visited the old man on his death-bed in his house at Hanwell "where he had a pretty little estate." After describing him as "an excellent public servant and highly esteemed by Mr Gladstone" he added that "he was one of the old school and always wore a jabot or frilled shirt front." The old man recalled his earlier days at the Treasury and recounted the extraordinary impression Disraeli had made and how shocked he had been that such a person had come to fill a seat once held by Mr Pitt. He was evidently a most likeable as well as an extremely competent and able public servant. His achievements deserve a more worthy record than the short notice which appeared in the Annual Register in the year of his death and this scrappy article—as far as I know the only accounts of him that have as yet been set down in print.

NOTES ON SOURCES

(References are to Treasury files except where stated otherwise)

¹Burke's *Landed Gentry*. Young, a name which has now been adopted by five generations of Spearmans, derives from William Young, Governor of Grenada and Tobago, whose sister, Margaret Young, was grandmother to Sir Alexander Spearman.

²6333/1855.

³Treasury Minute 21.3.1823.

⁴Treasury Minute 18.2.1831.

⁵See Report of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure 1848, p. 84 *et seq.*

⁶Ibid., p. 131 *et seq.*

⁷Treasury Minute 4.7.1856.

⁸See also 796/1840.

⁹Report, p. 357.

¹⁰15217/1838.

¹¹13932/1850.

¹²5310, 6355, 7486/55.

¹³6355/55.

¹⁴4590/73.

Bureaucracy in Transition: Independent Nigeria

By PROFESSOR TAYLOR COLE

Professor of Political Science and Chairman of the Commonwealth Studies Committee at Duke University, North Carolina, Professor Taylor Cole has just spent some months in Nigeria.

NIGERIA, which received its independence on 1st October 1960, is a transitional society. The country has been slowly moving away from its tribal moorings, spurred on by nationalistic appeals and economic forces which have begun to erode the religious, cultural, and linguistic bases of the traditional groups. The gradual movement towards urban areas can be attributed to several factors : the opportunity of earning a regular money income, the influence of new educational facilities, and the desire to see what urban life has to offer. Improvements in transportation facilities, first in the railways and more recently in road transport, have served to increase the social mobility. Commerce, expanding with a greater degree of rapidity, and industry, with a lesser degree, have contributed their share to the modest economic development in a country of more than 35 million people, where approximately 75 per cent. of the adult labour is still engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, and where the national income is around £30 per capita.¹ New political élites, varying somewhat in composition, outlook, and origin in the North and South, are giving voice to the urge for more rapid development.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The Independence Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria, was granted by the Queen-in-Council in exercise of powers under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, or "otherwise in Her Majesty vested." The Nigeria Independence Act which contained the appropriate provisions of the Statute of Westminster had previously been enacted by the United Kingdom Parliament at the request of the Federal Legislature of Nigeria. The continued right of appeal from the courts of Nigeria to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has been recognized in the Constitution. Nigeria, having expressed her wish, has been accepted by the other member countries as the latest addition to the Commonwealth. Accordingly, a High Commissioner for the Federation and Deputy High Commissioners for the Regions have been appointed to function under the aegis of the British Commonwealth Relations Office.

The new Constitution embodies the essential provisions of the Constitution of 1954, as amended to 1960,² together with the changes which were agreed

¹See National Economic Council, *Economic Survey of Nigeria 1959* (Lagos, 1959), esp. pp. 1-11. In national *per capita* income, Nigeria falls in the lowest 20 per cent. of the developing countries.

²The Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954, commonly referred to as the Constitution of 1954, and other "Constitutional Instruments," as amended through March 1960, have been published as a Supplement to the *Official Gazette*, No. 20, Vol. 47, 14th April 1960—Part D.

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upon at the Constitutional discussions in London in May 1960, and in Lagos in July 1960. Several features of the Constitution of 1960, as compared to the Constitution of 1954, can be summarized.

- (1) Instead of a single document covering both the Federation and the three Regions, there are separate Constitutions for each of the four political entities.
- (2) The Governor-General of the Federation and the Governors of the Regions have been appointed in accordance with the constitutional stipulation that the recommendations of the responsible governments will be followed.
- (3) The formal amendment of the entrenched clauses of the new Constitution (fundamental rights, &c.) requires two-thirds majorities in both the House of Representatives and Senate of the Federation, and the subsequent approval of two Regions.
- (4) The reserve powers formerly granted to the Governor-General have been eliminated, and emergency powers can be exercised only after the appropriate parliamentary action.
- (5) Minor substantive changes and textual revisions have been made in the provisions containing the distribution of powers, particularly in certain of those delegating exclusive powers to the Federal Government (i.e. "trade and commerce," with the elimination of Section 58A). In the aggregate, these changes have slightly strengthened rather than weakened the powers of the Federation.

Political parties, which evolved largely from tribal groupings, are developing their organizational structure and are beginning to appeal in national as well as in purely regional or local terms. The present Government headed by Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, has found its support since the national election on 12th December 1959, in a coalition of the Hausa-Fulani dominated Northern Peoples Congress (N.P.C.) with its substantial plurality in the House of Representatives, elected from the Northern Region, and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.), the main strength of which lies among the Ibos in the Eastern Region : the opposition in the House of Representatives is furnished by the Action Group (A.G.), which is less loosely organized than the other parties, and which has its fulcrum among the Yorubas of the Western Region. Outside of the traditional groupings, which carry great political weight, especially in the Muslim North, influential pressure groups are few in number and organizationally in their infancy. For example, most of the trade unions are of recent vintage and all too often represent paper facades for non-dues-paying members.

The federal system in Nigeria, provided for in the Constitution of 1954 and retained under the Constitution of 1960, represents the concessions which were made after 1946 to autonomy moves directed against the former unitary political system. These moves led finally to the granting of what is called "self-government" to the Eastern and Western Regions in August 1957, and to the Northern Region in March 1959. While the separatist tendencies, encouraged by cultural differences among the tribal groups, are deeply

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entrenched, various offsetting factors and forces, particularly economic and psychological ones, have been providing a unifying cement.³

It is against this background that one may examine the bureaucracy of Nigeria, always with the recognition that it is itself in a stage of rapid transition. Nevertheless, some aspects of its organization may be outlined and certain of its major problems analysed.

ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

Outside of the people who are engaged in the agricultural sector, over 60 per cent. of those listed by the Federal Office of Statistics as employed in Nigeria are public employees. With due allowance for the inadequacies of the statistics,⁴ the total "public employment" (including employees of the Federal Government, Regional Governments, local governments, and public corporations) in September 1958, was 302.2 thousand, as against 176.1 thousand in private, commercial, industrial, and "other" employment. Of the 302.2 thousand public employees, some 47.5 thousand, or 9.9 per cent. of the total number of 478.3 thousand listed as employed, were employees of the Federal Government, as compared with 72.1 thousand, or 15.1 per cent., for the Regional Governments, and 95.6 thousand, or 20.0 per cent., for the public corporations. These figures give a rough picture of the relative importance of the public, as compared to the private, commercial and industrial, sectors. They also indicate the much smaller percentage of employees of the Federal Government, in comparison with that of the three Regional Governments and the public corporations.

The bureaucracy of the Federal Government, comprising today more than 50,000 employees,⁵ has evolved its own organs of control, which can be listed on three levels. At the top, the Governor-General, as the representative of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, "controlled" in a formal sense the public services until independence, as the power to make appointments and removals was legally vested in him until that time.⁶ In fact, this "control" had largely passed to the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers prior

³See the article by the author on "Emergent Federalism in Nigeria," prepared for the Seminar on Constitutional Problems of Federalism in Nigeria, held in Lagos, Nigeria, 8th-15th August 1960, and to be published in forthcoming *Proceedings*.

⁴The main sources consulted were publications of the Federal Office of Statistics, especially the *Report on Employment and Earnings Enquiry* (Lagos, 1958). Use was also made of reports and information from the Public Service Commission, Nigerianization Office, &c. The Federal Office of Statistics recognizes that its coverage of "commercial and other" employees is inadequate, but it considers the figures for "public employment" to be reasonably complete.

⁵A recent compilation of the "Staff of the Federal Service," which does not include daily-rated employees, indicates that on 1st August 1959, there were 41,318 employees in all salary grades. "Analysis of Staff of the Federal Service," *Official Gazette*, Vol. 46, pp. 1154-1155 (27th August 1959). The Mbanefo Commission estimated that, in the "third quarter of 1959," there were 10,400 "general and special labourers" of the Federal Government. Federation of Nigeria, *Review of Salaries and Wages* (Lagos, 1959), p. 34. If there has been no duplication in any of the figures, there was a total of 51,718 federal employees in the third quarter of 1959.

⁶See Federation of Nigeria, *Views of the Government of the Federation on the Interim Report of the Committee on Nigerianization*, Sessional Paper No. 7 of 1958 (Lagos, 1958), p. 2.

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to independence. Today, final decisions on the most basic matters are referred to the Prime Minister through the Secretary to the Prime Minister, who might be called the co-ordinator and "unofficial head of the civil service." The proposals of the Council of Ministers for appropriations or other legislation must, of course, be referred to Parliament for its consideration and enactment. Much of the pertinent discussion in Parliament involving the public service centres around either individual complaints or such broad policy questions as Nigerianization. In short, the agencies of control at the apex are the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, and their respective secretaries. Their mutual relationships are affected by the exigencies of coalition government under a parliamentary political system.

At the second level are several agencies which deal with the Civil Service as a whole within the framework of the policy decisions made by the Government. These agencies include the Ministry of Finance, the recently formed Ministry of Pensions, Establishments, and Nigerianization (usually referred to as the Ministry of Pensions), and the Public Service Commission. Each of these has experienced a period of change since the application of the Constitution of 1954. The four-member Public Service Commission, an independent body composed of four appointed members, has the legal responsibility for appointments, promotions, and discipline in the service; the Federal Establishments Office in the Ministry of Pensions has charge of any staff proposals involving annual or additional expenditures, gradings, Whitley Council matters, conditions of service, salaries and wages, and pensions. At best, the relations between these agencies are complicated. On paper, the Federal Establishments Office of the Ministry of Pensions approves the need for the establishment of a new post; the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance, acting for the Minister, decides whether funds are available for the post; and the Public Service Commission recommends the person for appointment after the Nigerianization Officer of the Ministry of Pensions has determined whether a qualified Nigerian is available. But, in actual fact, there is lack of clarity in the shifting relationships between the agencies,⁷ and their functioning depends heavily upon personal contacts and extra-legal arrangements.

At the third level, that is, within the ministries themselves, there are the Permanent Secretaries and their immediate subordinates, particularly those officials in the Administrative and Establishment Divisions, who deal with Civil Service questions. Much of the negotiation involving the selection for entry and promotion of personnel is handled in the ministries by committees on which the Public Service Commission is represented and whose recommendations are subject to the final approval of the Public Service Commission. Administrative and executive officers are "posted" to the ministries, the former by a committee which includes in its membership the Secretary to the Prime Minister, and the latter by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Pensions. A large number of the final decisions on personnel questions are the product of informal handling between the Permanent

⁷One attempt to "spell out" the "division of functions" between the Public Service Commission and the Federal Establishments Office of the Ministry of Pensions was made early in 1960 in Federal Establishments Office Circular 7/1960.

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Secretaries,⁸ the Federal Establishments Office, the Ministry of Finance, the Public Service Commission, and the Prime Minister's Office, and defy formal explanation.

Although one cannot accept *in toto* the statement of a highly-placed official, that the whole system of personnel direction is a "headless" one which "flaps in all directions," it is safe to argue that any co-ordination results largely from the many informal understandings which exist. Recent steps, perhaps motivated by the desire to accelerate Nigerianization, and at the same time to prevent the burgeoning of the size of the establishments, indicate a determination of the Council of Ministers to exercise greater supervision over appointments and promotions.⁹ It is also pertinent to note the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee on Nigerianization of the Federal Public Service that the post of "Head of the Public Service" be created to direct and co-ordinate the work of the Public Service Commission, the Federal Establishments Office, and other agencies.¹⁰

The pattern of gradations in the public service, both of the Federal and Regional Governments, follows the British model, except where modifications have been made to meet local conditions. This pattern is based today primarily upon the recommendations of the Gorsuch Commission,¹¹ which dealt with the "structure of remuneration of the public service," following the constitutional changes in 1954.¹² The gradations of the Civil Service include the Administrative and Professional Classes, the Executive and Higher Technical Classes, the Clerical and Technical Classes, the Sub-Clerical and Minor Technical Classes, &c. Omitting from consideration the supernumerary posts, two different avenues are open to secure an appointment in the Administrative Class. The one is by promotion from the Executive Class and from certain other eligibles; the second is through direct entry after examination, by qualified degree holders. The Executive Class is a recent and rather artificial creation, which resulted from the belief of the Gorsuch Commission that the senior officials were necessarily devoting too much of

⁸The relations and divisions of responsibility between the Permanent Secretaries and private secretaries of the Ministers are not always clear. Too, the Permanent Secretaries perform much detailed work that in the United Kingdom would be done by Executive Class officers.

⁹Circular No. 13/1960 on the "General Level of Establishment in Federal Public Service," stipulated that "no new posts should be created in the future without the approval of the Council of Ministers" and that "there should be no recruitment to posts which have remained vacant for more than two years." *Official Gazette*, Vol. 47, pp. 370-371 (24th March 1960). Earlier, the Council of Ministers dealt with the "level of establishments" only when considering the Estimates.

¹⁰*Final Report, Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1959* (Lagos, 1959), p. 72.

¹¹*Report of the Commission on the Public Services of the Governments in the Federation of Nigeria, 1954-55* (Lagos, 1955).

¹²After the dissolution of the former unitary service and the split into Federal and Regional Public Services, arrangements were made for the allocation of senior personnel on the basis of personal preferences where possible. Today, transfers without loss of duly-acquired rights are possible between the services, and officers are occasionally "seconded" for periods of time from one service to the other—most frequently, it might be added, from the Regional to the Federal Service.

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their time to routine work.¹³ Originally, the Executive Class was filled largely by the promotion of former clerical officers at the bottom, while its more qualified recruits were being rapidly siphoned off at the top to the Administrative Class. Younger eligibles, often with degrees but little experience, are now rapidly replacing the older employees. As yet, they have developed little *esprit de corps*. The formation of the Executive Class was too long delayed, and its future role will remain uncertain unless active steps are taken to develop more expertise.

CIVIL SERVICE TRADE UNIONS

The guarantee and protection of the rights of the civil servants has also received considerable attention. The various rights of the four different types of employees¹⁴ are covered in several legal sources.¹⁵ Brief comment might be made regarding certain features which have occasioned much agitation among groups of employees. First, there is a wide gap between the top salaries of the superscale posts, which ranged up to £3,600 per annum prior to the modest increases in 1960, and those of the lowest scale for the established staff¹⁶; at the same time, the average "cash earnings" for all federal employees (established staff as of September 1958) was £17.95 per month.¹⁷ Second, whatever their justifications, there are some remaining disparities between the employment conditions for expatriate and indigenous officers. Third, the required number of hours of work per week (34 hours for office workers), when coupled with extremely generous leave provisions and liberally interpreted and widely utilized arrangements for maternity and sick leave, results in an average number of work hours per year for the employee in the lower ranks of the service which is below that of any western European country.¹⁸ Finally, with the exception of a few critical services, such as defence, police, and prisons, the civil servant possesses the same right to strike as does the private employee.

¹³In April 1960, the Executive Class, controlled by the Ministry of Pensions, comprised 526 posts, with ranks ranging from Assistant Executive Officer to Senior Executive Officer. Some 428 of these posts were filled. See the Minister of Pensions in *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 11th April 1960, p. 1021.

¹⁴Pensionable officer, contract officer, non-pensionable appointee, and trainee or learner.

¹⁵The terms and conditions of service are covered in the "Colonial Regulations for the time being in force . . . and current General Orders, Regulations and Instructions of the Federation of Nigeria." There is no single codification of the scattered provisions, though some steps were being taken in 1960 by the Federal Establishments Office to provide one. A step in this direction was the earlier preparation of the *Establishment Handbook*, 1958 (Circular A 33/1958).

¹⁶See *Staff List, Revised to 1st April 1960* (Lagos, 1960), p.v. Consult Federation of Nigeria, *Review of Salaries and Wages* (Lagos, 1959) for the new salary and wage scales which went into effect in 1960; the salary of the top superscale post, Group I, was raised to £3,900 per annum, and somewhat larger percentage increases were made in the salaries at the lower levels.

¹⁷Federal Office of Statistics, *Report on Employment and Earnings Enquiry*, op. cit., pp. 2-3. This figure may be compared with the average of £7.21 (approximately \$20.00) for local government employees.

¹⁸Only scattered data are available, but there is agreement on this point by a number of responsible officials.

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For the protection of his rights and the furtherance of his interests, the Nigerian civil servant is often inclined to look to some member of his extended family in Parliament or in a position of authority in one of the ministries. General belief is that this type of personal influence is increasing. The group efforts are exerted by the various employee associations and unions. Most of these are registered as trade unions for negotiating purposes with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Three of the oldest and most active of the associations composed solely of civil servants are the Association of Senior Civil Servants, largely an expatriate group ; the Nigeria Civil Service Union, made up almost exclusively of Nigerian clerical employees ; and the Nigeria Union of Teachers, the largest and most effectively organized of the unions, which includes teachers primarily employed by the Regional and local authorities under Regional control. Most of the unions of industrial and technical workers are affiliated with the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria (T.U.C.),¹⁹ which, in turn, maintains a recently concluded affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) ; others are affiliated with the Nigeria Trades Union Congress, a splinter group of unions which broke away in 1960 after a period of bitter controversy.

There is considerable scepticism regarding the effectiveness of the machinery for negotiation in the public services, including the Whitley Council system. Among the reasons offered is the weakness of the unions themselves. With the exception of those previously mentioned and a few others, such as the Nigeria Nurses Association, most of the unions are of recent origin and evidence the effects of poor organization, inadequate finances, and, too often, of irresponsible leadership.²⁰ The serious efforts to federate the unions have resulted in some progress, but the ideological leanings of some union leaders, together with conflicting personal ambitions, and scepticism of the present and future role of the T.U.C., have led to the various separatist moves by dissident elements, both within and without the T.U.C., and to the establishment of competing splinter organizations.

In this atmosphere the Whitley Council system, transplanted to Nigeria,²¹ has so far failed to generate enthusiasm among most organized public employees. The Association of Senior Civil Servants, which provides the Staff Side of one of the three Whitley Councils, Whitley Council I, has repeatedly insisted that there is no real "negotiation" with the Official Side, and that such agreements as were reached are either not implemented or are acted on only after long delays.²² Whitley Council II, for which the Nigeria

¹⁹Of the non-industrial unions and associations, neither the Nigeria Civil Service Union, nor the Association of Senior Civil Servants, nor the Nigeria Union of Teachers has been affiliated with the T.U.C.

²⁰Cf. W. A. Warmington, *A West African Trade Union* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 1ff.

²¹See "Constitutions" of Whitley Councils I, II, and III (mimeo). The Whitley Councils have no statutory basis, and rest upon voluntary agreements between the parties. On all three Councils, the Chairman of the Official Side is the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Pensions and the Secretary of the Official Side is the Senior Assistant Secretary and Head of the Staff Relations Section of the Ministry of Pensions.

²²See the *Nigerian Journal* (the official journal of the Association), Vol. 43, p. 69 (Sept.-Nov. 1957) ; Vol. 44, pp. 38-39 (Jun.-Jul. 1958) ; and Vol. 44, pp. 44-45 (Jul.-Sept. 1959), where the Federal Chairman of the Association commented as follows : "It is now apparent that Government only uses Whitley machinery to suit itself."

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Civil Service Association provides the Staff Side, has apparently one better in the eyes of both its Official and Staff-Side members. Whitley Council III, the "industrial Whitley Council," has proved to be almost completely ineffective, if not inoperative. This was due in part to the sharp differences among the numerous trade unions which provide the membership of the Staff Side. In any event, the Whitley Council system has benefited neither from its early history nor from its later years of experience in Nigeria. Despite some cautious optimism expressed on the Official Side, its functioning must be characterized as largely ineffective.²³

No mention has been made of the right of the Staff Side to declare a labour dispute under the Labour Ordinance and, subsequently, to resort to arbitration. There have been only a few references to arbitration during the past decade. However, there have been frequent threats of strikes and an occasional resort to them. Post and telegraph workers went on strike in both 1947 and 1958, but in each instance the result ended unfavourably for them. Railway employees went on strike in 1951-52, and threatened to strike again in the spring of 1960.²⁴ There is little evidence that any of these strikes have achieved their major objectives. Moreover, their failures have left a continued heritage of bitterness on the part of those participants who, as in 1947, were dismissed from their jobs, and lost their previously acquired pension rights after re-engagement. It is evident that the record to date of the employee unions as instruments for guaranteeing and furthering the interests of their members is a poor one.

EFFECT OF ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Various types of administrative changes and adjustments during the past few years have had their effect upon the status of major segments of public employees. One has been the creation of the four major public utility corporations, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria, the Nigerian Railway Corporation, the Nigerian Coal Corporation, and the Nigerian Ports Authority. Together with certain other public corporations, such as the National Broadcasting Corporation, they account for approximately one-fifth of those listed as employed in all public agencies and in private commerce and industry.²⁵

Several features deserve mention in considering these public utility corporations as employers. Unlike Britain, where the public corporations usually took over from private control or municipalities, these were created out of previously existing government departments, and, at the time of their establishment, guaranteed to the employees in the Civil Service a status which would not be disadvantageous as compared to their previous ones. In the

²³Instead of Whitley Councils, the major statutory corporations have set up joint industrial councils which, with some variations, follow the main outlines of the Whitley Council systems. Their record ranges from the unhappy one of the Nigerian Railway Corporation to the more satisfactory one of the Nigerian Ports Authority. In general, they have functioned more effectively than has Whitley Council III.

²⁴See comments of Prime Minister Balewa in *House of Representatives Debates*, 1959-60, Vol. 1, pp. 105-106; also those of the Minister of Transport in *ibid.* (Daily Parts), 11th April 1960, pp. 1006-1007.

²⁵The largest employer is the Nigerian Railway Corporation, with well over 30,000 employees.

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absence of certain guarantees of security of tenure, &c., given in the regular government service, the employees have been granted slightly more advantageous salaries for comparable work, their salaries averaging perhaps 10 per cent. higher than those in the Federal service. In the competition for certain categories of scarce personnel, the corporations can frequently "outbid" their competitors in the government departments. This fact adds to the rivalry which has been growing between the Regional Governments, the Federal Government, the public corporations, and private industry. One finds this especially true under the pressure of demands for rapid Nigerianization, where the number of trained Nigerians in certain professional and technical fields is limited. While the formation of the corporations has permitted greater managerial freedom in other respects, there has not been the anticipated flexibility and discretion in personnel policies.²⁶ Certainly, there are many acute personnel problems which remain unsolved, as in the case of the Nigerian Railway Corporation and the Nigerian Coal Corporation, which have been seriously affected by technological and other economic changes.

These considerations have contributed their share to the causes which led in 1957 to the appointment by the Federal Council of Ministers of a Committee to study the relations between the public corporations and the Government, the Federal Legislature, and the public. The delays in the issuance of a final report by this Committee attest to the difficulties in securing the requisite agreement to its findings and recommendations. Though there are no major moves to abolish or "reconvert" to government departments or ministries, it is still too early to say that some of them will escape the fate of public utility corporations in certain other developing countries.²⁷

The problem of administrative reorganization has been ever-present in Nigeria, at least since 1950. The Governor-General then served as the head of a unified service, with a Chief Secretary and Secretariat in Lagos, and Chief Commissioners in the East, West, and North under whom the Residents of the provinces operated. Following the constitutional changes in 1951 and 1954, there evolved at the centre, a parallel system of ministries with responsibility over certain groups of subjects and with staffs who reported to the Minister through a Secretary, and of unifunctional departments with heads who reported directly to the Minister. In terms of allocation of responsibility, the result was confusing and in some ways comparable to that found in certain American states before the halcyon period of state administrative reorganization. Prefaced by measures taken in the Regions, the Council of Ministers of the Federation appointed a Committee which was composed of high-ranking civil servants and which in 1959 submitted a report, *The Integration of Departments with Ministries*.²⁸ In essence, the Committee recommended

²⁶A. H. Hanson, "Public Enterprise in Nigeria, I. Federal Public Utilities," *Public Administration*, Vol. 36, p. 370 (Winter, 1958).

²⁷Ibid., p. 381. In 1960, following economies instituted by the managements and the resulting criticisms and unrest on the part of the staffs, separate official commissions were appointed to investigate both the Nigerian Coal Corporation and the Nigerian Railway Corporation.

²⁸(Lagos, 1959); cf. this report with the *White Paper on the Re-organization of Ministries*, Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1959 of the Western Region of Nigeria (Ibadan, 1959).

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that an organizational pattern, based in most respects on British precedents, be adopted. Ministries and departments were to be "integrated"; Permanent Secretaries of the ministries were to act as the official liaison between the Minister and the heads of divisions, which in most cases were to replace departments, as well as to serve as the general administrative heads of the ministries. There were some differences in the types of organization recommended for specific ministries. To take one example, the Ministry of Communications and Aviation was to incorporate several previously existing departments, which were to be reorganized and grouped into four divisions. Changes were proposed for the internal structure of ministries, with new posts of deputy Permanent Secretary or the equivalent to be set up in certain ones (chiefly to expedite the Nigerianization programme), and with the formation of divisions responsible for finance and establishments.

One of the most important effects of this integration, where it has been completed,²⁹ has been to provide a new set of relationships between the Permanent Secretaries of the ministries and the former departments' heads, who were often professionally trained doctors, engineers, &c. Certain of the departmental heads, have become "directors" of divisions (as in the Ministries of Works and Surveys, and Communications) and others have been given the titles of "advisors" (as in the Ministries of Education, and Health). Some of the integration has occurred more on paper than in practice, with divisions which have replaced former departments (i.e. the "Posts and Telegraph Division" of the Ministry of Communications) continuing to occupy a largely autonomous status within their ministries.

In most ministries, the changes have been accepted as desirable and, perhaps, as inevitable. But the many critics can present telling evidence that integration has produced unhappy personal relationships to the detriment of the service, and basing their case upon comparisons of the Annual Federal Estimates "before and after," that it has resulted in increased costs through the upgrading of posts and the establishment of additional ones for the performance of the same tasks. In addition, it has been charged that integration has retarded Nigerianization.³⁰ The last word has not been said on whether ambitious reorganization plans based upon experience in the United Kingdom can be applied without some modification to the developing countries. At least, with integration being of recent vintage and as yet not fully achieved, one cannot generalize on the basis of Nigerian experience at either the Federal or Regional levels.

Two more types of administrative adjustment might be cited. One was the transfer in early 1960 from the Governor-General's Office to the Office of the Prime Minister of the responsibility for defence³¹ and police matters. The Prime Minister now serves as Minister of Defence; he exercises his

²⁹The most completely integrated Ministry is the Ministry of Labour; the least integrated are the Ministries of Communications, and Works and Surveys.

³⁰*Final Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Nigerianization of the Federal Public Service*, Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1959 (Lagos, 1959), p. 76.

³¹The control over the "Nigeria Military Forces" had been transferred by the War Department to the Governor-General in April 1958. The name was subsequently changed to "Royal Nigerian Military Forces."

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powers over the police, subject on policy matters to the advice of a Police Council, which includes Regional representatives in its membership, and on personnel matters, to that of a Police Service Commission. Though certain legal niceties still pointed toward the Office of the Governor-General, the "External Affairs Division" in the Prime Minister's Office had in fact before independence assumed the major responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations. Under its aegis, liaison officers were being sent abroad, after formal certification by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and by the end of 1960 around 50 Nigerians will have received some training overseas, chiefly in British Embassies and Consulates, to provide the core of Nigeria's future foreign service.³²

There has also been the reorganization of some of the ministries and the creation of new ones, following the reconstitution of the Government after the national election in December 1959. Mention has already been made of the Ministry of Pensions, which represents a marriage of political convenience of several agencies, including the Federal Establishments Office, the Pension Division, and the Nigerianization Office, all of which were taken from the Prime Minister's Office.³³ A Ministry of Economic Development was also set up, composed likewise of several divisions which in skeleton form had been previously located in other ministries. This agency is faced with the formidable task of recruiting staff, particularly trained economists, to deal with the planning of future economic development. The creation of these two ministries evidences to some degree the growing concern with problems of personnel administration and economic planning. At the same time, their formation indicates the present willingness to temporize with these and other piecemeal steps, rather than to face the vital task of comprehensive administrative reorganization—perhaps one based upon an investigation and report by some future Nigerian "Hoover Commission."³⁴

NIGERIANIZATION

The most explosive issues, and certainly the most controversial ones, facing Nigeria during her transitional period to independence, involve the Nigerianization, "Expatriatization," and Northernization of the public services. All three are inextricably interrelated, but they focus primarily on the future composition of the higher ranks of the public service. The history of Nigerianization, which means essentially the accelerated replacement of

³²Report of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, in *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 7th April 1960, p. 806.

³³Various proposals have been made to change the name of this Ministry. One Whitley Council, has, with some justification, recommended the name, "Ministry of Civil Establishment."

³⁴Regarding economic planning, the future relationship of the Ministry of Economic Development to such bodies as the National Economic Council and its subordinate Joint Planning Committee, as well as to other ministries and agencies which are involved at the Federal and Regional levels, would constitute one of the problems deserving the special attention of such a Commission. Note the discussion by the Leader of the Opposition, Chief Awolowo, in *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 22nd April 1960, pp. 1611-1618.

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expatriate officials in the higher level posts by Nigerians, can be read in the comparative light of the experience of other British Empire areas in replacing expatriate with indigenous personnel, both before and after independence. In the case of Nigeria, the move to speed the process of replacement dates back to the period of the eve of World War II, when a modest scholarship scheme was started to train a few Nigerians for senior posts. After certain intervening developments, a Commission was appointed by the Council of Ministers in 1952 to study the Nigerianization policy, and its report in 1953 recommended a number of steps to limit the appointment and promotion of non-Nigerians and, correspondingly, to encourage the placement of Nigerians when qualified ones were available.³⁵ After some preliminary steps, a Nigerianization Officer was appointed with the primary objective of pushing the training and recruitment of Nigerians for the public service.³⁶ Popular pressures and demands in Parliament led to the appointment in March 1958, of a special Committee of the House of Representatives to study the progress which had been made, and methods to accelerate the pace. In its final report in 1959,³⁷ this Committee commented adversely on previous plans to train Nigerians, on the unwarranted concessions which were being granted to expatriate officers, and on the lack of progress in placing Nigerians in senior posts. It pointed out that of 73 superscale posts in the administrative service, only ten were held by Nigerians or other West Africans, while 63 were held by expatriate officers; that Nigerians held only one out of 14 posts of Permanent Secretary, two out of 20 posts of Deputy Permanent Secretary, and six out of 34 posts of Senior Assistant Secretary.³⁸ Citing the experience of Malaya, the Committee vigorously demanded that all higher posts, including all Permanent Secretarial posts, must be filled by Nigerians at the time of independence, or very soon thereafter—even if the requisite steps to secure "flexibility" involved some deterioration of standards. In 1958, the Government issued a sharply worded rebuttal to the interim report of this Committee,³⁹ and informally, in 1959, a tentative, carefully phrased statement on the final report of the Committee,⁴⁰ which contained one clear-cut

³⁵Sir Sydney Phillipson and S. O. Adebo, *The Nigerianization of the Civil Service, Review of Policy and Machinery* (Lagos, 1954).

³⁶See Federation of Nigeria, *Annual Report of the Nigerianization Officer for the Year 1957* (Lagos, 1958).

³⁷*Final Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Nigerianization of Federal Public Service, op. cit.*

³⁸The latest Federation of Nigeria, *Staff List, Revised to 1st April 1960* (Lagos, 1960), records no changes in the number of Nigerians holding the rank of Permanent Secretary and Deputy Permanent Secretary. No account was there taken of the 10 Nigerians in training in Superscale Class I and Class II posts for "higher administrative responsibilities." Note the report of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions in *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 13th April 1960, p. 1140; also the statistics on the staffing of "senior posts" as of 1st June 1960, in *The Times* (London), 6th August 1960, p. 10.

³⁹Federation of Nigeria, *Views of the Government of the Federation on the Interim Report of the Committee on Nigerianization, op. cit.*

⁴⁰"Government Comments on Nigerianization Report," *Daily Times* (Lagos), 4th December 1959, p. 3.

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reservation. Here the matter rests, with the Government utilizing various devices to implement its declared policy to accelerate Nigerianization,⁴¹ and with the majority of the politicians advocating the need for more rapid action.

The corollary aspect of the staffing problems raised by Nigerianization is that of Expatriatization, to coin a word for the retention of expatriates and the filling of new posts by expatriates in the public service in Nigeria. The status of the expatriate officer today hardly raises any considerations which have not been found in some degree by other parts of the British Empire during the period of transfer of power, notably, in Ghana, Sudan, and Malaya. In Nigeria, as in some of these areas, many of the most capable and energetic of the expatriate officers left at an early date. Those who remain⁴² have been concerned with five major considerations : (1) the guarantee of security in the face of political uncertainties ; (2) the nature of the inducements offered to retain them ; (3) their status, in the light of previous responsibilities and attachments, and of the current views of the political leaders ; (4) the alternatives which are open to them elsewhere ; and (5) in many cases, an interest in their work and respect for various personal commitments made during previous years.

For several years, the Colonial Office had apparently assumed that, while the expatriate officers would eventually be largely replaced in Nigeria, the change might occur without the disruption of the government or without serious inconvenience to the officers involved. It was also recognized that the Secretary of State for the Colonies retained at least some responsibility for officials who had been employed by the Colonial Office directly, or with its sanction, not only before but even after independence. In consequence, a sequence of policy statements and proposals were made from 1954-58,⁴³ designed to reconcile the differing and somewhat conflicting demands and

⁴¹In the case of the administrative service, these steps include the creation of a number of supernumerary posts at superscale level in the ministries, and of Deputy Permanent Secretary posts in the newly integrated ministries and departments to be filled largely by Nigerians. See remarks of the Prime Minister in *House of Representatives Debates*, 1959-60, Vol. 2, p. 685. On the progress of filling these posts up to April 1960, see statistics cited by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Pensions in *ibid.* (Daily Parts), 13th April 1960, p. 1140.

⁴²Expatriate officers are normally classed as either "pensionable officers" or "contract officers," the latter being employed for definite terms and without guaranteed pension rights. Almost all expatriate officers newly employed are on the contract basis. As of 1st March 1960, the total number of "Overseas Officers" of all types was 1,812, which included 1,724 "officers in C Scale and above." Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions in *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 20th April 1960, p. 1453. These figures might be compared with those for the European civil servants in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika in 1959. See "Low Morale of East Africa Civil Servants," *The Times* (London), 13th July 1960, p. 8.

⁴³1954 : Colonial No. 306 of 1954 ; 1958 : "Statement of Policy Regarding Overseas Officers Serving in Nigeria," Cmnd. 497 of July 1958. For a discussion of the schemes based on the principles of Colonial No. 306, and put in force in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, see T. E. Smith, "The Effect of Recent Constitutional Changes on the Public Service in the Federation of Malaya and Singapore," *Public Administration*, Vol. 37, pp. 267-273 (Autumn, 1959). The details of a scheme, announced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in July 1960, to provide for the compensation of officers compelled to retire prematurely and to furnish financial inducements to officers for continued service were to be incorporated in a White Paper later in the year. *The Times* (London), 29th July 1960, p. 10.

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fears of the indigenous political leader, the wishes and complaints of the expatriate officer, and the responsibilities of the Colonial Office. Two types of lists of expatriate officials were devised. The first, the Special List, later known as List A, failed to offer attractive possibilities to a large majority of expatriate officials. A second Special List, List B, introduced later in 1958, added some new inducements, including immediate advances in compensation after independence, or against future entitlement, and other concessions. It was felt that these would meet some of the expectations of expatriate officers, and thereby discourage wholesale retirements and resignations. Sharp controversy has raged from the beginning, especially among the Nigerians, over the purpose and justification for List B.⁴⁴ The Parliamentary Committee on Nigerianization has been caustically critical of the "concessions" thereby made to foreign officers still in policy-determining positions, while the Nigerian "Government" has stressed its legitimate purpose to retain the services of needed expatriate officers.⁴⁵

A third current which has affected the employment situation in Nigeria has brought from the Muslim North demands for "Northernization." In 1957, the Public Service Commission of the Northern Region stated : "It is the policy of the Regional Government to Northernize the Public Service: if a qualified Northerner is available, he is given priority in recruitment; if no Northerner is available, an Expatriate may be recruited or a non-Northerner on contract terms."⁴⁶ Since that date, the insistence upon the employment of only Northerners, even at the expense of the maximum generosity in interpreting the minimum qualifications, has been increasing year by year. In its actual application, Northernization has been directed much more vigorously against Southern Nigerians than against Expatriates, and it is clear that few Southerners will be allowed to remain long in any conspicuous positions in the service of the Northern Regional Government.⁴⁷ A special Northernization Committee was set up in 1959 under the Chairmanship of the Northern Regional Minister of Education,⁴⁸ to speed up the programme. Despite this step, and belated efforts to improve the retarded elementary educational system and to provide scholarships for training, few

⁴⁴On 14th April 1960, there were 704 expatriate officers enrolled on List B. *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), Appendix, 19th April 1960, pp. 47-48. The best discussion of these developments is Part I of Kenneth Younger, *Public Service in New States: A Study in Some Trained Manpower Problems* (London, 1960), a study which was based upon a survey he made in the summer of 1959.

⁴⁵"It certainly would not help against the possibility of an exodus of the senior officers of the Administrative Service in 1960 if the Government were to take active steps to remove them all before then; this would merely ensure an emergency, and an emergency of a more acute kind." Federation of Nigeria, *Views of the Government of the Federation on the Interim Report of the Committee on Nigerianization*, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴⁶Report on the Public Service Commission for the Period 1st November 1954 to 31st December 1957 (Kaduna, 1958), p. 7.

⁴⁷A typical headline in the newspaper reflecting the views of the Western Regional Government: "Northernization: More Southerners Sacked." *Daily Service*, 17th February 1960, p. 2.

⁴⁸Northern Regional Legislature, House of Chiefs, *Debates*, Official Report, 9th-12th March 1959, pp. 2-3.

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indigenous public servants had reached the upper echelons of the public service hierarchy by the summer of 1960. Indeed, there was no Nigerian Permanent Secretary, prior to the appointment of one in August 1960.

Though Northernization is of less concern at the Federal than at the Regional level, a coalition Federal Government which received over 60 per cent. of its parliamentary support from adherents of the Northern N.P.C. party would be expected to, and in fact does, temper its pressures for Nigerianization at a time when less than 1 per cent. of the higher posts in the Federal Service are filled by Northerners,⁴⁹ and when, in consequence, the posts vacated by Expatriates would almost certainly be filled by Southerners. It is understandable why Nigerianization has so far proceeded more rapidly in the Eastern and Western Regions,⁵⁰ than in either the Northern Region or Federal Government. One can also see why the ruling powers in the Northern Region are not passionately committed to the encouragement of Nigerianization, even in the Federation, until Northernization there is much further advanced.⁵¹

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

Implicit in all the discussions on Nigerianization and Northernization is the lack of adequately trained, experienced Nigerians to fill the posts now occupied by expatriates, and to meet the needs of an expanded service during the next decade. Unfortunately, at the present time, there are no criteria by which the needs of the service can be adequately measured. In the absence of any effective Organizations and Methods investigations, of any general manpower survey, or of any over-all study of the federal administration, statistics now available on the large number of existing vacancies tell very little.⁵² Evaluation for general classes of the service must, furthermore, be made in terms of the questionable justification for the comparatively limited hours of service, which the average employee is required to contribute per annum. In addition, there is valid room for suspicion that over-staffing in some divisions, primarily in the lower echelons, may be the rule rather than the exception in terms of job requirements.

However, the shortage in certain categories, administrative and professional, are real, whether occasioned by resignations, absence of qualified recruits,

⁴⁹Federation of Nigeria, *Annual Report of the Nigerianization Officer for the Year 1957* (Lagos, 1958), p. 7. On 1st March 1960, only 29 out of 4,398 "officers in C Scale and above" listed the Northern Region as their "region of origin." The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions in *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 20th April 1960, p. 1453.

⁵⁰Cf. Younger, *op. cit.*

⁵¹Said an N.C.N.C. member, Dr Kalu Ezera, in reference to the filling of the post of Secretary to the Prime Minister: "If the Prime Minister feels that Nigerianization means Southernization, then let him Hausanize it." *House of Representatives Debates* (Daily Parts), 4th April 1960, p. 640.

⁵²On 1st August 1959, there were 3,774 vacancies listed, including 148 in superscale, 50 in contract, and 377 in administrative and professional scale posts. "Statistics for the Federal Public Service," *Official Gazette*, Vol. 46, pp. 1154-1155 (27th August 1959).

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or lack of experience and training.⁵³ The situation has been variously characterized as "critical," or "threatening," by realists who stop short of prophesying the "breakdown of the service." Two recent unpublished reports, which followed earlier ones touching on this matter, have analysed the inadequacies and needs in training and have proposed some remedial measures. In a thoughtful account, prepared in 1958 under the auspices of the Ford Foundation, J. Donald Kingsley made a number of specific proposals regarding staff development.⁵⁴ Some of the steps advocated were marked by the stamps of urgency and emergency. Certain of his recommendations, regarding both formal and organized on-the-job training, are in fact being implemented in the Western Region. If they were also accepted at the Federal level, they would both complement and give new orientation to the various training centres of certain ministries, and of other agencies, including the statutory corporations. Frederick Harbison, in an able report in 1960 on "High-Level Manpower for Nigeria's Future," prepared for the Commission on Post-Secondary and Higher Education in Nigeria, has stressed the need for training programmes which would permit the more effective and more rapid use of *employed manpower*. These would include the creation of additional institutes of public administration for training purposes, both at the Regional and National levels. It may be added that all of these investigators find a continuing need for the expatriate to contribute his share of experience in such activities during the next few years.

The next five years will be the critical period. Assuming a continuance of the present rate of economic development, some reasonable demand-supply ratio for trained administrative officials may have been reached by the end of that time. Certainly, by then, the stage will have been passed when the emphasis would be put as heavily, as it is today, upon the search for the degree holder in the public service. At the same time, to judge by the experience of other developing countries, the need for professional and scientific personnel will continue to be acute, even if there is a rapid increase in the output of educational institutions. Indeed, a special type of unemployed intellectual with a yearning for a high-level administrative post may have appeared.⁵⁵

CONCLUSION

During the final period of transition to independent status, Nigeria has benefited from the astute leadership of the Governor-General, Sir James

⁵³A large, but inadequate, number of Nigerians were studying abroad on scholarships or private arrangements, including over 3,000 in the United Kingdom in April 1959. Various types of specialized training abroad for senior civil servants are being provided by such agencies as the International Co-operation Administration of the United States. Little use has yet been made of the United Nations instrumentalities for training purposes.

⁵⁴This Report, "Staffing, Organizational and Training Problems in the Public Service of the Western Region," was made to the Premier of the Western Region.

⁵⁵See the pertinent letter of W. Arthur Lewis dealing with the relationship between educational and economic development, in *Economist*, Vol. 190, p. 118 (10th January 1959), and the comments of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, A.C.E.C. (59), 22. Cf., also, the discussion of bureaucracy in African "political systems" by James S. Coleman, in Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), *The Politics of Developing Countries* (Princeton, 1960).

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Robertson, and the Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, as well as others. Above all, steps have been taken to avoid crises which might endanger the future unity of Nigeria. The degree of final agreement on the provisions of the new Constitution is one evidence of their success.

The bureaucracy of the independent Federation has inherited many problems, some of which press for early attention. Among these are : the future relationship of the Ministry of Pensions, and in particular of its Federal Establishments and Nigerianization Offices, to the Ministry of Finance and the Public Service Commission ; the continued integration of ministries and departments, the merits of which have already been the object of unpublicized official enquiry ; the responsibility of the statutory corporations and the rights of their employees, who seek additional civil servant privileges while retaining their special perquisites ; the recruitment and retention of certain categories of scarce personnel, such as pharmacists, engineers, and architects ; the training of employed manpower, with a special eye on the members of the Executive Class ; the search for some adjustment between the pressures for Northernization, Expatriatization, and Nigerianization ; and special manpower needs and organization required for the implementation of any industrial development programmes and national economic plans. On the steps which are taken to meet these problems will depend the role and effectiveness of the bureaucracy in the future social and political integration of Nigeria.

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Nile and Niger: Two Agricultural Projects

By A. H. HANSON

Reader in Public Administration in the University of Leeds, Mr Hanson has made a special study of the administration and problems of economic development in his recently published book "Public Enterprise and Economic Development."

THE stimulus to write this article came from a reading of Mr Arthur Gaitskell's *Gezira: a Story of Development in the Sudan*,¹ a book long awaited and well worth waiting for. To add yet another to the many appreciative reviews that have already appeared seemed hardly necessary. Gezira, the outstanding success story among programmes of agricultural development, has had its record fully and brilliantly documented. Its secrets are revealed. What is now of interest and importance is to discover why the success of Gezira has never been paralleled or repeated in other under-developed countries. The world is littered with failed agricultural projects, many of them bearing superficial resemblances to the project whose story Mr Gaitskell tells so well. Surely it ought to be possible, by careful comparative study, to determine some of the more general factors responsible for success or failure? Unfortunately, this is very difficult, partly because projects vary so widely not only in their objectives but in their social, political and economic settings; partly because for most of the others we lack the documentation that Mr Gaitskell has given to Gezira. The only other study of comparable quality known to me is Mr K. D. S. Baldwin's *The Niger Agricultural Project*,² a record as gloomy as Mr Gaitskell's is bright; and to attempt a comparison between projects so utterly different in both scale and technique would not be very useful. It is possible, however, at least to begin the work of comparison on a restricted scale; for on the other side of the African continent, in the territory formerly known as the French Soudan, there is another project so similar in scale, purpose and technique to Gezira that comparison between the two is fairly easy. Moreover, this project, the Office du Niger, was actually inspired by the Geziran example. Yet practically no information about it is as yet available in English, apart from a couple of pages in Lord Hailey's *African Survey* and a few scattered references in articles in various geographical journals. Admittedly, the documentation of the project is not very adequate nor easy to obtain in this country, but the Office has published a good deal of mimeographed material, including about thirty numbers of its "Archives" since 1951. In addition, there are numerous discussions of its progress and prospects in such journals as *Marchés Coloniaux*, and a full length study, carrying the story to 1949, by

¹1959. Published by Faber and Faber as one of the series of "Colonial and Comparative Studies," edited by Margery Perham.

²Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1957.

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a former colonial governor, M. Georges Spitz.¹ Comparison between the Office and the Gezira project, therefore, is overdue, and might be fruitful.

Both projects are based on irrigated cultivation, made possible by the construction of a great dam—the Sennar in the Sudan, the Sansanding in French West Africa. Both concentrate on the production of a marketable crop—cotton in the Gezira, rice (with some cotton) in the central Niger delta. Both rely on the organized and supervised efforts of individual tenant farmers, who have a special relationship of dependence on the authorities responsible for providing the water supplies, technical aids and processing and marketing facilities, and for maintaining the rhythm of cultivation. These are sufficiently close similarities. Yet the results and prospects of the two projects are entirely different.

NATURAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS

A part of the difference may be ascribed to natural factors. Although both have similar topographical and climatic advantages, and the ability to produce crops for which there is a high—if irregular—demand, the Niger project has a distinctly less favourable location. Being further out in the “bush,” its overheads are necessarily heavier. Costs of preparing the land for cultivation have also been considerably higher, owing to the irregularity of the terrain, which is in sharp contrast with the Gezira’s featureless plain. The area, moreover, was originally very thinly populated compared with the triangle of land between the Blue and White Niles, with the result that it has had to bring most of its “colonists” from considerable distances.

Political factors may also be important. Although both projects were still in their “pilot” stage when a world war broke out, the effect of 1914–18 on Gezira was obviously less detrimental than that of the Vichy régime, followed by the cutting off of contact between “Gaullist” French West Africa and the metropolitan country, on the fortunes of the Office du Niger. There is also the fact that, whereas throughout its formative years the Gezira authorities could treat a politically-passive Sudanese population “paternistically,” the Niger authorities, during the corresponding period of development, were confronted with a rapidly-growing West African nationalism. Nor were the vicissitudes of the post-war French political scene of any help. But, on the other hand, the Niger project has never had to face an “economic blizzard” comparable to the Great Depression of 1929–33, which all but brought Gezira to grief.

To quantify these natural and political factors is, of course, impossible, but it seems very unlikely that they were of sufficient importance fully to account for the divergencies. Something more is necessary to explain why Gezira has been a commercial success, while the Niger project has consistently lost money on such a scale that even today, when it is comparatively well established, there are serious doubts about its ultimate “rentabilité.”

A DIFFERENCE OF APPROACH

Something, I believe, must be ascribed to the fact that the British and French

¹Georges Spitz: *Sansanding—Les Irrigations du Niger* (Société d’Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, Paris, 1949).

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have approached the whole task of colonial development with different presuppositions. Stress was actually laid on these differences of approach by the mission sent by the Office in 1951 to study the Gezira experience. In its Report,¹ it compared the priority given by the British to "immediately profitable projects" with the French "predilection for programmes of a 'social' character, desirable in themselves, but not integrated with schemes for increasing production."

"Without a preceding or at least parallel economic prosperity, without new or improved resources, every social programme remains restricted or constitutes a heavy burden on local or metropolitan budgets. This criticism can be made of programmes for using the funds of F.I.D.E.S., which originally had as their basic purpose the development of resources for the benefit of the local populations, but in the event did not enable the people to make sufficient money either to service investments or to meet the heavy current expenses of the social amenities provided."

In the Sudan, on the other hand, the Government,

"having undertaken economic development . . . by financially profitable schemes . . . now has the resources, thanks to the wealth already accumulated, to finance the boldest and most costly social development projects."

The contrast here made is too sharp. French colonial economic policy was never as starry-eyed as this, while British policy in the Sudan has certainly not released the springs of social wealth to the extent suggested. Nevertheless, any comparison between the respective commercial performances of Gezira and the Office du Niger suggests a marked difference of politico-economic inspiration.

Gezira

Gezira, as Mr Gaitskell repeatedly stresses, was originally conceived as a "purely economic project." Its basic aim was to secure adequate returns for the three partners, the Government, the tenants and the Syndicate (replaced, in 1950, by the Gezira Board). This was a matter of necessity rather than of choice. At the time of the project's foundation, and throughout its formative years, funds for colonial development could be obtained only on commercial terms. The Sudan Government could not afford to be generous; the British Treasury rejected generosity on principle; while the Syndicate, to which the management of the project was confided, had to make dividends for its shareholders. That the money was forthcoming is a tribute to the precision of the economic calculations of the project's initiators, to the belief in its viability expressed by a number of reputable and hard-headed business men connected with the cotton trade, and to the long-sightedness of the original Syndicate shareholders, whose money, first advanced in 1904, earned no dividends until 1912, and no return that could be regarded, by ordinary capitalist standards, as adequate until the 1920's.

But although entirely commercial in conception, Gezira was given a capital

¹Archives de l'Office du Niger, No. 2, 1953.

structure well suited to developmental needs. "It was a business proposition," says Mr Gaitskell, "but suited to the wider principles of development already determined." In evidence of this, he points to the care taken to ensure that the Syndicate, while providing the necessary drive, should not "dominate or deflect" developmental policy, and to the adoption of three different "levels of finance," viz.:

"an investment fund level (the Egyptian Treasury) to finance the railway, an investment bank level to finance loans to the Government for its stake in the undertaking, and an equity capital level from private enterprise to finance the superstructure."

This "triple combination," he considers, shows "what flexibility of outlook can contribute to development, if it is allowed to do so."

Whatever the cause, the "purely economic" success at which the project aimed was certainly achieved by the time the Syndicate withdrew from participation. Between 1925 and 1950 the Government netted a cumulative surplus of £E 16,237,315, the Syndicate paid out total dividends of £8,674,125 (representing an average dividend of 15 per cent. on nominal share capital), and the tenants received profit payments amounting to £E 25,756,432. This achievement was not only remarkable; it was unique. Gezira is the sole example from underdeveloped countries of a large-scale agricultural project which was a commercial proposition from the word "go," and remained one despite its dependence on the fluctuations of the world market for a single commodity.

Office du Niger

The Office du Niger, on the other hand, was never the subject of precise commercial calculation, has never succeeded in paying its way or even in establishing a balance on current account, and continues to depend on subventions from metropolitan and colonial funds. It began, not as a business proposition, but as a grandiose project, submitted to and approved by the Minister of Colonies in 1929.¹ As this proved to be too ambitious and costly, the original objectives have had to be periodically scaled down, and the consequent gap between promise and performance has caused lively and bitter controversy, to such an extent that from time to time the very existence of the project has been in jeopardy. Originally it was envisaged that nearly a million hectares should be brought under irrigation. Rather more than half of these were to grow cotton, and the remainder to grow rice. Three hundred thousand "colonists" were to be settled, and the total cost was to be in the region of 340 million francs. By 1945, what M. Spitz calls the "not very bright" situation of the Office provoked the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry, which reported that it should be possible, within

¹This was preceded by two experimental "pilot projects" at Niérébalé and Baguineda. These according to M. Spitz proved that the technical problems of irrigation and organized cultivation could be overcome. They did not, however, provide firm evidence as to the commercial prospects of the larger scheme, and in this respect were in sharp contrast with Gezira's pilot projects at Tokar, Zeidab and Tayiba. It is also clear that a whole number of agronomical and parasitological problems were left quite unresolved. (See *Chroniques d'Outre-Mer*, No. 46, June 1958, pp. 3-7.)

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twenty years, to bring into production 200,000 hectares of cotton and 73,000 hectares of rice. Simultaneously, the Commission de Modernisation et d'Équipement envisaged a twelve-year programme based on 105,000 hectares of cotton and 75,000 hectares of rice. By 1958 the total cultivated surface was only 51,500 hectares (34,000 ha. rice ; 8,800 cotton ; 8,700 *cultures diverses*). Expansion, in accordance with the Four-Year Plan of 1955, was taking place at a rate of 4,000 hectares per annum, but financial stringencies made it unlikely that this rate could be maintained. Colonists and their families numbered 32,500. Losses on current account (210 million francs in 1955-56, 109 million in 1956-57) made the enterprise dependent on metropolitan and colonial funds for operations as well as for extensions. Although the management expressed the hope that "rentabilité" would be achieved eventually, when the size of the irrigated and cultivated area was sufficient to justify the cost of the capital works, it was unable to set even an approximate date for the reaching of this goal.

"It must suffice to say that, apart from a radical change in structure and purposes, the Office cannot hope eventually to make profits sufficient to permit self-financing and can only hope to establish a balance on current account. Some think, however, that even this balance can never be attained. For proof, they point to the chronic deficit which has hitherto characterized the current accounts."¹

The sad fact is that no-one knows exactly how much money this commercially-unprofitable project has absorbed. The present management tends to excuse its ignorance by referring to the wild fluctuations in the value of the franc during the course of the Office's twenty-nine years of life. Other things being equal, however, this should not be an insuperable obstacle to the production of a balance sheet.² In 1948, M. Spitz actually attempted a calculation, in terms of the 1939 franc, reaching the conclusion that the total cost, by that time, had been approximately 950 million, while in 1952 the Managing Director himself produced a total, in terms of the 1951 franc.³ The real difficulty has not been the changing value of the franc, but the lack of a commercial accounting system. Up to 1949 all the accounts of the Office were maintained in the "administrative" form. Then, from 1949 to 1954, two separate accounts were kept, for *travaux neufs* and for *operations d'exploitation* respectively. This, according to the management, made the

¹Office du Niger : *Etude de Problèmes de Financement et d'Organization*, Segou, 1958 (Mimeographed).

²Apart from the fact that no official index of correction exists in French West Africa.

³Georges Peter, in *Marchés Coloniaux*, No. 333, 29th March 1952. In this article he also specifies the Office's extraordinarily miscellaneous sources of finance, viz. :

Subventions

Budget général de l'A.O.F. (1925-51)	..	..	..	..	325 m.
Budget de Soudan (1928-44)	..	..	..	..	25 m.
Budget d'emprunt de l'A.O.F. (1931-42)	..	..	..	..	414 m.
Budget de l'Etat (1942)	..	..	..	..	37 m.
Budget spécial des grands travaux	..	..	..	..	478 m.
F.I.D.E.S. (depuis 1947)	..	..	..	..	1,715 m.
<i>Advances remboursables</i>					
Trésor métropolitain (1942-45-46)	134 m.
C.C.F.O.M. (1951)	243 m.

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drawing up of a general balance sheet "extremely difficult," and attracted criticism from the *Commission de Vérification des comptes des Etablissements Publics d'Etat à caractère industriel et commercial*, which said that it was essential to make a distinction between

"the real property which remains in the hands of the state and which the Office is responsible only for maintaining, such as the great dams, and that which, being regarded as its own, ought to be subject to amortization of the kind normal in industry."

Neither before nor after 1949 was there any financial agreement regulating the relations between the Office and the State, with the result that it was impossible—and remains so even today—to delimit the extent of the Office's own property. Not until 1955 was a more rational accounting system introduced, through the unification of the accounts on a commercial basis. Only in that year did the Office present its first general balance sheet, with separate columns for Operations, Investments, and Expenses charged to the account of *la Puissance Publique* and *les grandes collectivités*. This enables the situation to be seen rather more clearly, but the management still complains that it is involved in considerable losses as a result of being required to maintain "roads and other important installations not used exclusively by the Office," and to provide a health service not only for its own employees but for all the people who live within its area of operation. It also points to the fact that lack of any "revolving fund" compels it to meet heavy charges on short-term bank credits, and holds that certain of its investments which ought to have been financed by grant from F.I.D.E.S. have actually been financed by loans from the *Caisse Centrale de la France d'Outre-Mer*, at an annual cost of 68 million francs. At the same time it admits that its own methods of financial control have been defective, and are in need of reform. But however drastic the reform might be, it is difficult to see how, at this stage, "rentabilité" could be realistically calculated.¹

CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Are we to conclude, therefore, that whereas the Gezira project has justified itself by commercial success, the Office du Niger may be written off as an expensive failure? Does this experience prove, more generally, that British ideas about priorities in colonial development have been right and the French ones wrong? It is tempting to draw such conclusions; but they are not necessarily correct.

¹See Office du Niger : *Apports de l'Office du Niger à L'Economie de l'A.O.F.*, 1st June 1956 (mimeographed), and Office du Niger : *Etude de Problèmes de Financement et d'Organisation*.

From our point of view it is a little odd that the management of the project should regard the dam and its associated works as "infrastructure" not to be included in the commercial balance sheet; for these works are not of "general utility," but devoted to the sole purpose of "commercializing" the irrigated area. M. Peter, however, argues as follows: "Works financed by public funds should not be expected to show more than an indirect profitability, that is to say the enhancement of economic activity. One does not seek a balance sheet amortization of investments devoted to roads and bridges. They form part of the basic equipment for which the public authorities are responsible. Why should any different attitude be adopted towards a dam?" (*Marchés Coloniaux*, No. 337, 26th April 1952).

Another question will help us to see why. Would Gezira have been a "mistake" if, instead of making handsome profits, it had been a "losing" proposition for many years, requiring subsidization by the British Exchequer? This question does not answer itself. One would have to consider, not merely Gezira's balance sheet, but the direct and indirect contributions made by the project to the general economic development of the Sudan. Few projects of fundamental importance, in the context of underdevelopment, are likely to be commercially profitable except over a very long term, and few can be judged exclusively by reference to the direct returns that they yield. Were this not so, the task of the developer would be immeasurably simplified. One has to consider the degree to which a particular project provides a stimulus to economic activity generally and to estimate the extent to which it introduces, diffuses and popularizes new productive skills and new ways of economic life. One has to remember, too, that the "critical minimum effort" required for take-off into sustained economic growth may demand a boldness in the initiation of projects which is incompatible with meticulous balance sheet calculation. These aspects of development from a low level have been stressed by Professor Gunnar Myrdal and many other Western economists, and are now denied only by a small group of laissez-faire doctrinaires. Naturally, they make a strong appeal to Africans, and it is on such grounds that—for instance—Mr Mamadou Dia defends the Office du Niger and similar projects:

"Only projects of this scope can seriously contribute to the radical transformation of African agriculture; and their present managerial defects will disappear when the economy is socialized. Far from systematically denigrating such schemes, in the manner of certain economists who would have us, in the century of atomic energy, embark on an extended programme of small-scale projects, we must therefore think in terms of developing them within a socialist perspective. Far from refusing to accept dimensions which some people, unable to transcend their own narrow outlooks, consider monstrous, we must adapt our conceptions to the immensity of Africa itself, multiply great projects for dams and irrigation, overcome hesitations, push aside petty calculations of immediate profitability, face the future with confidence and bring out of the files the plans for the rivers Senegal, Volta, Niari, &c. Without boldness in this field, we shall in the very near future face difficulties, as a result of the growth of population, so serious that no-one can adequately envisage them."¹

Even if such rhetoric solves no problems, it at least ought to make us look at the record of the Office du Niger more sympathetically, always bearing in mind that Gezira is not only unique, but probably destined to remain so.

This does not mean, however, that we should easily accept the facile arguments periodically put out by the Office's management, to the effect that its "œuvre social" more than compensates for its immense cost. We

¹Mamadou Dia : *L'Economie Africain*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1957. See also his *Contribution à l'étude du mouvement coopératif en Afrique Noir*, Editions Africaines, Paris, 1957.

cannot, for instance, take very seriously the document written by M. Georges Peter, the Managing Director, entitled "The Support Given by the Office of the Niger to the Economy of French West Africa," which catalogues a large number of direct and indirect benefits without making an attempt to count the cost. Nor can we afford to be unduly impressed when he assures us thus :

"No capitalist profit has been sought. The purpose of the Office is to enhance the value of African labour and its best reward is the happiness of those who work on its estates."

Cost-benefit calculations are admittedly difficult even in countries possessing more sophisticated techniques of economic measurement than are available to the French Soudan, and can never attain a high level of accuracy, in view of the immense number of intangibles that have to be included. They should nevertheless be attempted, particularly for a project which shows considerable commercial losses. In Gezira there was no need for this mathematical exercise, as the wider benefits of the project—which were undoubtedly—could be regarded as forming a "bonus" of indefinite size over and above the direct return. But for the Office such an exercise is surely essential, if a realistic decision is to be taken as to the worth-whileness, within the wider economic context, of the losses incurred. It is obviously futile to attempt a quantification of the "support" given by the Office to the economy of French West Africa without attempting a similar quantification of the total costs involved. Output is meaningless unless related to input.

As it is, the contribution of the Office tends to be presented in an excessively generalized and post hoc manner. In 1956, the Managing Director gave the following justification for its existence, in strictly economic terms :

"The provisioning of French West Africa presents serious problems : (1) rice from Saigon, the traditional source of imports, will be much more difficult to obtain now that Viet-Nam has attached the piastre to the dollar ; (2) our insufficient dollar reserves will not allow us to buy much rice from foreign sources ; (3) the plan for the development of ground-nut production in Senegal is dependent upon an expansion of food supplies ; (4) the African is giving up millet and prefers rice."

At the time these arguments no doubt seemed very strong, and they have by no means lost their force. But it is to be noted that they were all post facto, relating to a situation which had materialized some ten years after the completion of the Sansanding dam. It will also be remembered that the original intention was that the Office should concentrate on the production of cotton not rice. Furthermore, they simply by-pass the question of whether it might not have been economically more viable to attempt the increase of African rice production in other and less capital-intensive ways, or whether there might not have been advantage, despite foreign exchange difficulties, in producing export commodities from the proceeds of which the necessary rice might have been purchased.

All along the line, therefore, there has been a lack of realistic far-seeing economic calculation. It is on this ground that the project may be criticized, not on the ground that it has failed to produce a direct return. What is

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meant by "rentabilité"? What kinds of expenditure ought to be regarded as "commercial" in the strict sense of the word, and what kinds should be classified as belonging to the "infrastructure" or as of a "social" character? How can the different kinds of expenditure be clearly distinguished in the accounts? What figures are required to measure the enterprise's progress as a commercial concern, and what to measure its contribution to the development of the West African economy as a whole? How should capital and current financing be arranged to provide more realistically for the various purposes that the enterprise serves? Failure to try hard enough to find the answers to these—admittedly difficult—questions has not only darkened counsel about the future of the enterprise; it has undermined the incentives of the management to achieve the maximum commercial efficiency. In Gezira, by contrast, the simple test of profitability, realistically calculated, has given the management all the incentives that it needed.

METHODS OF MANAGEMENT

It is this that seems to be the basic contrast between Gezira and the Office du Niger, rather than that deriving from different "philosophies" of colonial development. It may be admitted, nevertheless, that the French "philosophy" does tend to open the door to the various kinds of financial and commercial sloppiness which, on the admission of the management itself, have characterized the Office for the greater part of its history. But it can also be argued that this contrast, while partly the cause of differences in methods of management, is simultaneously one of their results. For administratively the two projects have been differently conceived. Mr Gaitskell constantly and rightly emphasizes the managerial independence and flexibility imparted to the Gezira project. This was achieved by confining management firstly to a private Syndicate and then to a quasi-autonomous public corporation. The Office, on the other hand, never attempted to make use of either the capital or the managerial skills of the private sector, and the role of its *Conseil d'Administration* and *Comité de Direction* has been very different from that of the Gezira Board. Fundamentally, this difference is a product of dissimilar ways of looking at public enterprise. The British tend to regard the public corporation as an independent managerial entity, subject to various types of control in the "public interest." The French, on the other hand, regard it more as a specialized kind of government department, which has received certain limited "immunities" to facilitate the performance of its commercial functions. Broadly speaking, the "model" for the British public corporation is the private company; and for the French public corporation the departmental "bureau." Hence, when we read that the Office du Niger is "un établissement doté de la personne civile et de l'autonomie financière," we should be deceived in imagining that this implies a grant of wide managerial and financial autonomy. In fact, state control of the Office has been very strict and meticulous. At least half of the members of its *Conseil d'Administration* are civil servants, and one of them—an *Inspecteur Générale* or an *Inspecteur des Colonies*—functions as the ministerial watch-dog. No decision can be taken without the approval of the Governor-General of French West Africa. In the event of disagreement, it is the

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

responsible Minister in Paris who decides.¹ The intervention of the "pouvoirs publics," moreover, extends in practice to a variety of matters of commercial policy—so much so that the management complains that its hands are tied. The "rent in kind" paid by the tenants, for instance, is "politically" determined—at too low a level, the management considers—and the eviction of an unsatisfactory tenant requires the consent of the *Chef du Territoire*, who, being more concerned with allaying discontent than with assuring the Office's "rentabilité," generally refuses. And as we have already seen, the political authorities impose certain public duties on the Office without giving it adequate reimbursement.

"Meticulous" controls are not unfamiliar to or resented by Frenchmen. They apply to the great nationalized industries in metropolitan France, where they have not proved incompatible with efficient and enterprising management. But running *Électricité* or *Gaz de France* is quite a different proposition from managing a colonial project. Where everything is highly experimental, where conditions are so totally dissimilar from those in Paris or Lyon or Marseille and where—to particularize—an enterprise is attempting to organize a body of comparatively primitive and potentially refractory agriculturalists to produce commodities for distant and fluctuating markets, the need for flexibility and on-the-spot decision-making is multiplied a hundred-fold. In such a case, to tie down a management to detailed texts and decrees, to watch its every step, to require that it should submit its "day-to-day" decisions to higher approval, and to compel it to undertake, without adequate reimbursement, tasks which have no more than a remote connection with its main job, is to ask for trouble. Where the success of a difficult enterprise appears to depend to so large a measure on decisions taken externally to management, by politicians and civil servants whose knowledge of commercial affairs is minimal, the managers can all too easily shift the blame for their failures, and suffer strong temptations to take a formal and even a cynical view of their responsibilities. Whether this has happened to the management of the Office I do not know. It has certainly happened in similar cases which have come within my experience. Equally certainly, it did not happen in Gezira. One can conclude, at least provisionally, that for development projects of this kind the current British attitude towards the public corporation—even though it may not be consistently followed—is likely to produce better results than the French.

ADAPTATION TO CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES

Some evidence that the Office du Niger has paid a heavy price for the highly bureaucratic type of administrative control to which it is subject is provided by the slowness with which it has corrected the mistakes of policy which inevitably occur in an experimental project of this kind. We have already seen that the accounting reforms of 1955 were long overdue. So was the elimination of overlapping services (e.g. separate general stores and transportation systems for the *Service d'Exploitation* and the *Service des Travaux Neufs*).

¹It goes without saying that these are the controls imposed before the Soudan became independent within the French community. Of recent changes I have at present no knowledge.

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respectively), which was not undertaken until 1956. Losses on mechanized cultivation reached the figure of 171 million francs in 1955-56 before the decision was taken to require the tenants to pay a greater proportion of its cost and to cut down on its provision, in view of the fact that simpler and more traditional techniques had proved more economical and better adapted to local circumstances.

An equally serious mistake, persisted in over many years, was the use of the Office as a "make-work" agency, a policy justified by over-optimistic forecasts of the future expansion of the project. Not until financial pressures compelled the Office to look for operating economies was any serious effort made to cut the numbers of surplus staff, with the result that European and African personnel were reduced from 9,250 in December 1956 to 7,101 in February 1958. Even then, the nature of the investment reductions made it necessary for the management to economize at the expense of the *Service des Travaux Neufs*, whereas a more rational policy would have been to concentrate on the *Service d'Exploitation*.

These inflexibilities are in sharp contrast with the exceptionally swift and vigorous capacity to adapt to changing circumstances displayed by the management of the Gezira project during the economic crisis in 1929-33, vividly described by Mr Gaitskell in his Chapter 12, entitled "Disease, Debt and Disaster."

In sum, it would appear that comparisons between Gezira and the Office du Niger are very unfavourable to the latter, whose lack of commercial success must at least be partly ascribed to financial and administrative mistakes made by its management and by the higher controlling authorities. If such a conclusion seems to bear the marks of British chauvinism, the reason is simply that the British project with which comparison is most appropriate has proved exceptionally well-conceived. For it would be difficult, bearing in mind such spectacular failures as the Gambia poultry farm and the Tanganyika groundnuts scheme, to claim that in general the British have proved themselves more successful colonial developers than the French. It is the interchange of experience that is important, and it just so happens that in this particular case most of the credit is on the British side.

TENANT PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

It is also salutary to remind ourselves that in certain respects, not so far mentioned, neither scheme has made very much progress. The most important of these is the association of the cultivators with the management in such a way as to convince them that the project is *theirs*, and not simply something imposed on them—albeit with the most paternalistic of motives—by an alien or superior authority. Neither Gezira nor the Office has been able to make the transition from benevolent despotism to responsible government.

Gezira

In Gezira, very few efforts in that direction were made during the period of Syndicate management. British managers, such as MacIntyre, clearly regarded tenant "participation" as a pipe-dream. "I cannot imagine that

at any time in this generation you will be able to do with less British supervision without endangering the revenues of the scheme," he said in 1928. After his retirement, ten years later, the Syndicate, while expressing "sympathy" for government proposals to devolve certain functions on village councils and on a local board of field management containing tenants' representatives, nevertheless feared the effect of such measures on both efficiency and integrity. Hence little was done until wartime, when necessity compelled the appointment of large numbers of native *sous-officiers* known as samads who, from 1944 onwards, were increasingly associated in the performance of their duties with village councils (see Table on p. 214 of Mr Gaitskell's book). But even as late as 1946 the only tenant association with higher management was the very tenuous one provided by two appointed tenant "representatives" on an advisory Gezira Local Committee. It was at this point that, under the influence of Sudanese nationalist politicians who had begun to take an interest in the project, the tenants began to show their teeth. The tenants' strike of 1946 over the disposal of moneys in the Reserve Fund "brought home very forcibly to the authorities what a dubious ally ignorance had been." It was followed by the creation of a Tenants' Representative Body, through "the first election ever held in a rural area of the Sudan. This body was retained when, in 1950, the Syndicate withdrew and was replaced by the Board. In 1952 its name was changed to Tenants' Association, and in 1953—significantly—to Tenants' Union. The role of tenants' representation, at both central and local levels, was officially characterized thus in the Board's first report of 1951:

"The Board, while making clear that (the management function) must ultimately lie with the Board as responsible manager of the Scheme, believes that the intention of the Ordinance was that a reasonable atmosphere of compromise, and a firm faith in a joint spirit of co-operation, should be the true solvent of the problems of management. The Board believes that the intention of this machinery was to avoid a drift towards centralization, a decline in voluntary effort and a divorce of the mass of the people from responsibility . . . and the Board intends to use it to encourage more and more people to do more for themselves. . . ."

These were excellent—and no doubt sincere—sentiments. So far, however, the awakening of the tenants has taken the form of the development of a "trade union" rather than a "participatory" consciousness.

The Niger

In Gezira, up to the creation of the Tenants' Representative Body, the management was confronted by no organized "countervailing power." On the Niger, on the other hand, the project was equipped almost from the start with what appeared to be a form of tenants' democracy. In each centre of colonization the tenants were compulsorily grouped in an *Association Agricole Indigène*, said to be of a co-operative character. This Association was given an extraordinarily wide variety of functions, including the maintenance of minor irrigation works, the preparation of land for irrigation, the construction and maintenance of village amenities, the purchase of equipment, the

NILE AND NIGER : TWO AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS

organization of collective labour, the extension of credits to cultivators, and the processing and sale of agricultural products. Each Association was provided with a General Assembly consisting of the heads of family groups, and an Administrative Council, composed of one delegate from each village. In 1942 there was created a Federation of Associations, with its own Administrative Council, partly elected, partly appointed.

This certainly looked like "democracy on the march." In fact, however, the Associations remained very limited in functions and developed no independent life. Confined to "accounting duties concerned with collection of products and the payment of rents in kind," they were no more than arms of the administration, operated by appointed directors. Indeed, given the French "philosophy" of colonial administration, it is difficult to see how they could have been anything else; for the French have always tended to consider that only an *évolué* can be trusted to exercise initiative, and there were precious few *évolués* among the miscellaneous and largely illiterate body of "colonists." It is not surprising, therefore, to find that M. Rémy Madier, an expert on co-operation, considered in 1958 that the "evolution in a co-operative direction of the basic structure of the Office" had not even begun.¹

"If a proletarian is one who does not share the values of the society to which he belongs, the colonists of the Office du Niger are proletarians."

To put an end to this situation, he proposed that the Office and the public authorities should embark upon a programme of general and co-operative education, and that, by a series of gradual stages, certain managerial functions should be devolved on the Associations. If this were not done, he held, there was a real danger that the Associations would develop into trade unions of a militant kind, capable of ruining the work of the Office.

Judging by the experience of "compulsory co-operation" elsewhere in the French Union, one cannot but feel that M. Madier was over-optimistic. Without any on-the-spot knowledge, I should hazard the guess that the Office would do better to come to terms with tenants' trade unionism, rather than to try to head it off towards a mirage of "participation." For "proletarians" are never more suspicious of their masters than when the latter come bearing gifts.

Nevertheless, the transition from paternalism to co-operation—the desirability of which no democrat can doubt—remains the great unsolved problem of all these agricultural schemes. Neither Gezira nor the Office du Niger provides the clue to its solution, and a far deeper and more realistic study of it is urgently required.

INCENTIVES FOR TENANTS

One further point, in this connection, deserves notice. The transition will obviously be facilitated if tenants are given adequate incentives and made to feel that their own fortunes are bound up with those of the project. In this respect Gezira seems to have been a good deal more successful than the

¹Rémy Madier : *Organisation des Associations Coopératives Agricoles* (Office du Niger, Délegation au Paysannat, March 1958).

Office. In both projects the tenant's reward is proportional to his productivity, but on the Niger he is not a profit-sharing "partner" as he is in Gezira. Indeed, he could hardly be so, as long as the project is running at a loss, and therefore it would not be realistic to recommend the Gezira profit-sharing plan for imitation by the Office. Nevertheless, it has been recognized by many informed Frenchmen that this distinctive characteristic of the Sudanese scheme is at least partly responsible for its superior success and better prospects. Such an opinion emerges clearly from the report of the Office's study-mission to the Gezira, and it has been expressed more specifically by Professor Robequain in a lecture recently delivered in the University of Paris.¹

The comparison here made between Gezira and the Office du Niger is necessarily of a very general and tentative kind. But it will suffice, I believe, to indicate the value to be derived from more detailed and better-informed comparative studies. Comparison of administrative institutions is a dangerous occupation, but can become increasingly rewarding with the multiplication of competent descriptive monographs such as Mr Gaitkell's. In no field is it more needed than in that of the development of under-developed territories.

¹M. Ch. Robequain : *Problèmes d'Hydraulique Agricole en Afrique Noire Française* (Publications de l'Institut d'Etude du Développement Économique et Social, Université de Paris, 1958).

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Project Training and Case Studies

By JOHN SARGENT

The Institute's Assistant Director describes the approach to project training developed for O. and M. and Work Study Courses.

THE development of the case study as a teaching aid has been one of the more significant features of education and training in management and administration in the post-war years.

The majority of the cases used, and certainly the better ones, are based on fact, although people's names are usually changed. Many are well written and provide all the essential background information. Tutors become skilled in filling in or improvising when students' questions demand further facts, and less relevant queries are evaded. The syndicated discussions on the cases encourage the exchange of worthwhile experiences and the absorption of information. There is, however, apart from the simple supervisory cases, a dearth of material written in the British context and many of the American cases are both difficult to adapt and unlikely to be of great value to managerial or administrative trainees this side of the Atlantic.

Because of these limitations it might be worth while to exploit the opportunity that exists for staff training on actual assignments. Staff in line for promotion or those who have been selected for development or training can be given defined tasks, or can tackle current problems, with the double objective of getting a long overdue job done and of presenting them with a challenging assignment that will provide experience and test their ability. Creation of such opportunities is often easier than appointing special staff officers or personal assistants on the establishment, and yet such tasks provide considerable opportunity for executive development. This technique has been used by a number of organizations but, although in recent years there has been a considerable increase in staff training at all levels and in the use of group tasks as part of staff college training, comparatively little has been done with living project training. Yet this has the advantage of taking place in a normal working atmosphere with actual personalities and realistic problems. This realism can rarely be captured in a case study programme as the people concerned and the relationships between staff of various grades cannot easily be described with the vivid accuracy that most personnel and management problems demand.

Live project training is not difficult to organize provided the task to be undertaken is carefully defined, careful supervision is exercised and if the staff of the department concerned are consulted and briefed before the project commences. The work selected should not cover too wide a field and the terms of reference should be sufficiently precise to prevent the student from wandering into other branches or departments on what must be accepted as side issues, however important these may appear to the students at the time. Supervision should be exercised by the Establishment Officer, the leader of the O. & M. or Work Study team, or by the manager or branch

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

head responsible for the task under investigation. This supervision should not be interpreted as nursing, however, or some of the value of the training will be lost. Planning the project takes time, but the results are likely to be rewarding to the department if a long neglected job is partially completed by the trainees who realize that there is every advantage in their completing the task and in accepting the challenge of this type of assignment. They know that they will earn some respect for a good performance and that their conclusions will be seriously considered by management and that some of their suggestions are likely to be accepted.

TIMING THE EXERCISE

The time allocated for this type of exercise will, of course, vary, and the instructions or terms of reference should take this factor into account, or shoddy work may result. As part of its formal training programme, the Royal Institute of Public Administration includes a number of training exercises based on this principle. These have been devised and run in conjunction with local authorities in or near London, where work of a similar character can be surveyed in a number of branches or sub-offices by teams of two or three trainees. The exercises completed so far have occupied only a few days and each involves a briefing and a certain amount of background reading. A day or two of field work follows where procedures are observed and recorded. Further time, usually two or three days, is allowed to analyse the facts found, to make recommendations and to prepare a report. The reports are then studied by students and by the local authority, and observations on the report and recommendations are put forward at a final session at which the local authority is represented. These minor exercises have been extremely successful and the following terms of reference illustrate the type of tasks allocated :

- (a) To examine the procedure for collecting and accounting for weekly rents of the Council's housing estates, including the relevant parts of the District Office's work.
- (b) To examine the school lettings procedure in a County with special reference to fees and accounting procedures.
- (c) To ascertain the duties of Clinic Clerks at County Welfare Centres and to comment on the methods used.
- (d) To investigate and report on the work of a District Officer of the County Health Department. Since the teams will be unable to cover the whole range of functions, the following list of priorities should be followed :
 - (i) General organization and layout of the office and distribution of work among staff ;
 - (ii) Assessment of charges—these vary in accordance with the means of the person receiving service ;
 - (iii) Collection of moneys due to the Health Department.
- (e) To examine the admission procedure at an Old People's Home.

In the earlier exercises the reports were compiled by teams of five or six students under the close direction of one of the O. & M. staff responsible for the exercise. Experience suggested that the teams were too large as the

PROJECT TRAINING AND CASE STUDIES

encouraged passengers and reduced the challenge to individual students. Consequently, the reports are now prepared by students in pairs and copies of all the reports are circulated to each of the students to facilitate criticism and comments. Add to this the reactions of the local authority's officers and the critical views of the Director of Studies, and it will be appreciated that it is a good report that escapes adverse comment. Since these projects are only part of a training programme, time is still limited and there is need to be alert to the danger of rushing students and so encouraging them to arrive at careless or hasty conclusions. Nevertheless, excellent results have been achieved and some good ideas have resulted from these brief projects which have justified the host authority studying recommendations with a view to partial adoption. Longer exercises are now being organized as part of the work study training offered by the Institute to hospital administrators and, although the exercises occupy three or four weeks, the technique is similar and the results encouraging from the training viewpoint and already they have proved useful to the hospitals concerned.

WORKING ATTACHMENTS

The Institute has also been successful in giving Organization and Methods trainees real work to do during three or four weeks attachment to various public authorities. A dozen or so local authorities and several nationalized industries have assisted with this training by receiving students for a working attachment after their formal training is completed. With a rather longer period at the disposal of the students, and again under the direction of a senior member of the "resident" O. & M. Staff, a trainee assists with an assignment by interviewing and fact finding. He thus gains confidence in his newly learned techniques and in himself, and usually he can play a small part in suggesting improved methods or changes in the organization. The fact that such attachments are welcomed by public authorities is itself a tribute to the system and, although it could be argued that a much longer period is required, the employing authorities, especially the smaller ones, are unlikely to release staff for several months at a time. A number of attachments for periods of six weeks or more have been arranged for staff employed by public boards, but in general local authority staff find it difficult to obtain release for more than three weeks.

Terms of reference and some guidance from the permanent staff help the student to work on the right lines, but the essential factor is to allow him to do actual work and not to become a mere observer. In this way the project is rather more than an exercise or case study ; it requires less written background material and leaves the student to discover for himself the essential difficulties that the project presents. The scope for this method of training is unlimited, whereas the written case study belongs to the formal training programme. The normal establishment of the organization is not disturbed by the creation of special staff officer posts, and a useful task should be completed. Suitable problems are soon found within an organization and an exchange of staff between two authorities in a particular district should be easy to arrange. There is, perhaps, no better way to develop future

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

managers than to place them on work of special difficulty. Fresh minds and the challenge to ambitious trainees are likely to produce excellent results and it is unimportant if the trainee knows but little about the organization to which he is attached, provided he is given enough time to absorb the essential information and if he is guided by strict terms of reference or instructions. On the completion of a project the reactions of the senior officers concerned must be made known to students and their work fairly assessed. Discussion of the report, the whole conduct of the exercise and the reactions of the permanent staff affected by the project are relevant. Criticism must be frank and if it is possible to check any part of the detail by comparing it with similar work already done, or with statistics in existence, the results of the training project should be so compared and assessed. Confidence can be built up in this way and performance improved as a result of noting any serious errors made by trainees. Lack of time will often be put forward as an excuse for mistakes, but this danger can be reduced by the careful drafting of the terms of reference and by defining priorities.

EXAMPLE OF A SHORT O. & M. EXERCISE

A typical brief prepared for a recent exercise devised in conjunction with H. J. Dive, Director of the Metropolitan Boroughs' O. & M. Committee, is set out in detail as an Appendix to this article. The terms of reference, priorities and instructions given were found to be adequate and the course of sixteen students worked in twos, each pair working at a different Housing Department. The brief is reproduced as it was issued and is followed by a report prepared by two of the students. Since the exercise was regarded by the local authority concerned as a real assignment, the identity of the authority and of the officers responsible for the report has been obscured. With this exception the report with its faults and virtues is printed as it was submitted to the Institute's Director of Studies. The report, which is typical of those completed by the students, is reproduced as an Appendix to this article. It was criticized for some minor technical errors and on points of presentation, but in spite of the time limit it was considered an excellent report of a survey well done. It is fair to say that six of the eight reports completed were of a high standard and that several of the recommendations put forward by students have in fact been adopted by the Departments or are likely to be adopted after further investigation.

Most of the reports prepared on these exercises no longer reveal the common errors of presentation that were discovered on the first two or three occasions. This is perhaps partly due to the "jungle telegraph" that passes experience from course to course but the improvement is in some measure a result of more detailed instruction on report writing given during the formal training programme. It is still difficult to isolate problems on which to base short exercises and thus to ensure thorough fact finding or investigation. Even when larger projects lasting a month have been attempted one is forced to accept severe limitations in the range of the field work. Although the example given is a simple O. & M. problem, the same type of briefing can be devised and similar reports prepared for other administrative projects.

PROJECT TRAINING AND CASE STUDIES

PRACTICAL EXERCISE BRIEF

Royal Institute of Public Administration

ORGANIZATION & METHODS COURSE

April 1960

1. General Outline of the Study

Each team will be asked to visit the Housing Department of a borough council and to study the arrangements for dealing with applications for housing and for letting accommodation.

2. Timetable

Tuesday, 29th March 1960.

At Haldane House, 4 p.m. Briefing.

Friday, 1st April 1960.

All day—fact finding at housing offices.

Saturday until Tuesday, 2nd-4th April 1960.

Analysis and preparation of reports.

Friday, 8th April 1960.

Report Conference on Exercise.

3. Location

Teams will report to the offices indicated :

(List of officers in charge and locations followed.)

Note.—In case of difficulty during the exercise, students may telephone XYZ 1234, Ext. 4 (O. & M. Officer).

BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND TERMS OF REFERENCE

Introduction

All the borough councils concerned with this exercise are housing management authorities. They build and maintain houses and flats within their area, and in this they provide a service complementary to that of the county council which undertakes the larger development schemes within the county and all out-county schemes.

Background Information

In its broad concept, a housing service is concerned to provide accommodation in the proper proportions to meet the needs of the district and then to administer this property both from the point of view of the adequate maintenance of the valuable asset created and the reasonable enjoyment of the property by the tenants.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

With the present shortage of accommodation, the number of applicants far outnumber the vacancies, so that the authority must also ensure that the available properties are allocated to the right applicants and in this the integrity and fairness of the system must be plain for all to see.

The following notes on the arrangements may be helpful.

Interdepartmental Organization

Some boroughs have set up one department (sometimes under an architect) to administer an integrated housing service, including design, planning, maintenance, letting and rent collection.

Others modify this by using the services of the borough engineer for the maintenance of housing and either the borough engineer or a consultant architect for design.

Organization of Housing Management

Whether there is a fully integrated or a departmental system, housing management will normally be in a separate principal section. It will normally be subdivided into (i) applications and lettings (concerned with keeping the waiting list and allocating properties); (ii) management, including possibly the collecting of rents, the proper running of the estates, the solving of personal problems posed by tenants, caretaking services, and the notification of repairs to the maintenance force; and often (iii) an administration section providing for typing, accounts, and certain other clerical services.

Waiting Lists

The purpose of priority lists is to facilitate lettings in accordance with council's scheme and the type of accommodation available. Usually residence in the borough is required before the application form is completed and filed, often in case number order. Applicant's requirements are entered on the housing list, and he is usually given a registration card. Records are cross-referenced and a visit made to the present home. Priorities are revised periodically and "dead" cases withdrawn. Lettings are approved and suitably documented and statistics are kept of admissions and withdrawals.

Scope of the Study

The teams are asked to study, analyse and report upon the methods of maintaining the housing waiting list. A suggested order of priority (having regard to the time available) is

1. The records and procedures for recording applications for rehousing.
2. Reception of initial enquiries about housing policy and the housing situation.
3. Interviewing and visiting applicants.
4. Letting vacant properties.

Teams will be unlikely to have time to make outside visits and should omit the aspects of procedures concerned with transfers or exchanges. They should also assume that vacancies exist and ignore the action necessary to deal with the termination of a tenancy.

APPENDIX

LONDHAM BOROUGH COUNCIL

HOUSING DEPARTMENT

**Review of the Methods of Recording
Applications and Maintaining
the Housing Waiting List**

Note : This report is reproduced in the style adopted by most of the students. Each report was duplicated by Institute staff with a coloured facing sheet, and any diagrams or forms that could not be reproduced on a wax stencil were photo-copied or produced by dye-line. Each student and the Department received a copy in time to study it before the Report Conference.

Assignment conducted by :
E. H.
C. E. H.

Royal Institute of Public
Administration O. & M. Study Course
April 1960

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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PROJECT TRAINING AND CASE STUDIES

LONDHAM BOROUGH COUNCIL
HOUSING DEPARTMENT

Review of the Methods of Recording Applications for Housing and
Maintaining the Housing Waiting List

INTRODUCTION

Terms of Reference

1. The broad terms of reference agreed were to study, analyse and report upon the methods of maintaining the housing waiting list. The time allowed for the enquiries was short and the review was, therefore, limited to a study of the records and procedures for recording applications for housing and the maintenance of a "live" waiting list and reception of initial inquiries about housing policy and the housing situation.

Limitation of Inquiries

2. Personnel of the Housing Records Office answer inquiries and maintain the housing waiting list as part of their duties. The records office, see Appendix A, keeps all records of housing applicants, including tenants, from the inception of the waiting list in 1944, and are a central reference and information office for the whole of the Housing Manager's department. The work of the interviewers, visitor and a general clerk, except in a general sense, were excluded from the inquiries, as was the work of preparing statistics, general correspondence, committee reports, work concerned with tenants and actual visiting of applicants and tenants. An assessment of time spent on the various duties and procedures was not possible, and recommendations are, therefore, confined to procedures and forms.

Examination of a series of procedures within an overall pattern of work is difficult and subject to criticism when links between procedures, examined and unexamined, have not been adequately studied. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached in this report are sufficiently substantiated to warrant serious consideration.

Statistics

3. Londham has a population of 178,000. There are about 6,800 Council dwellings; 45,000 applications have been received since the inception of the waiting list scheme; the present "live" waiting list is 4,900, of which 1,700 have varying degrees of priority. Approximately 700 applications were approved in 1959, and fifty-five tenancies were allocated from the waiting list as distinct from tenancies arising from redevelopment and clearance areas. Within a year or two more tenancies from the waiting list will be allocated as rehousing from clearance schemes diminishes.

PRESENT SYSTEM

Organization

4. Appendix "A" shows the present organization of the section.

Initial Applications

5. The receptionist explains the housing situation to members of the public calling at the office and, providing they fulfil the residential qualification of either one year in the borough in unfurnished, or three years in furnished accommodation, helps them to complete an application form. Further application forms are received by post or handed in at the office. All applications are checked to the electoral register to confirm the residential qualifications, are numbered in sequence and a card reference is made out and filed in alphabetical order. The card reference is used to ascertain whether a previous application form has been submitted, prior to numbering.
6. The address of the applicant is checked to a card index of designated clearance and development areas and if coincident the applicant by-passes the waiting list to a separate set of files.
7. Preprinted letters are sent when further information is required and written evidence is obtained when addresses cannot be traced from the electoral register. All residentially qualified applicants are notified of acceptance on a preprinted form and points are then allocated. Priority cases are vetted by the Medical Officer of Health, Sanitary Inspector or the visitor as appropriate. All applicants above a certain number of points have a general priority and urgent cases are then classified as follows :

Urgent	Top priority approved by the Housing Manager.
Consideration Deferred	Top priority not approved by the Housing Manager.
Special Files	Top priority with less than year on the waiting list.
Green Spot	General priority over a certain number of points.

Waiting List

8. All applicants on the waiting list are circularized every two years for change of circumstances and confirmation of rehousing need. If no reply after reminder or negative reply is received, applicants are taken off the waiting list. New tenancies are selected from urgent applications by the Lettings Section.

*Record:**Case Papers*

9. Are filed in box files in number order in the following classifications :
 - (a) All applications since 1944, either case papers for live waiting list or dummy slip for dead, priority, clearance area and tenants filed elsewhere 45,000
 - (b) General priority, green spot 1,224
 - (c) Urgent priority 138
 - (d) Consideration deferred 270
 - (e) Special files 96
 - (f) Clearance and Development Area Applications 1,000
 - (g) Tenancies approximately 6,800

PROJECT TRAINING AND CASE STUDIES

Card Index

10. Alphabetical order of all applications received—45,000. Cross-referenced to case papers.

Index System

11. Manually punched cards indicating family, points, bed requirements and a road code, filed in number order under general headings of applications. "U" and "C.D." "S.F." "Green Spot" and non-priority applications. A separate tenants' section is filed in address order.

Diary System

12. All preprinted forms for further information sent out are recorded on cards and reminders sent after a fortnight.

Application Record—Index Book

13. All applications and lettings, whether through the Borough Council, the County Council or New Town's Corporation, are recorded and summarized weekly and monthly in an index register. Monthly totals are submitted to the Housing Committee. Subsidiary records of New Town lettings are retained in considerable detail.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Initial Applications

Residential Qualification

14. The size of the present waiting list, 4,900, means that the majority of applicants have little chance of being rehoused in the foreseeable future. Any stiffening of the residential qualification would cut down the number of new applications and consequently the records accumulated. The division between furnished and unfurnished accommodation is arbitrary and it is recommended that a general residential qualification of at least three years be used.

Application Form

15. Contains some headings for irrelevant information. It is recommended that when the next order for printing of the form is made the following headings are excluded :

Heading No. 9—Residence at 1st August 1939.

Heading No. 10—Date of marriage since 1939.

Heading No. 13—Bombed address.

Heading No. 16—What is the maximum rent you can pay?

Headings 9, 10 and 13 are no longer applicable and heading 16 is not relevant until a tenancy is offered, by which time circumstances will need rechecking.

16. Heading No. 11 is "All addresses since 1st August 1939 (approximate length of residence)": We recommend that the heading should be: "Any previous addresses during the last three years" and should follow the details of the current address and family, i.e. become heading 6.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Waiting List

Comments and Conclusions

17. Last year, less than 2 per cent. of the waiting list were rehoused and even in ideal circumstances less than 10 per cent. of the waiting list will be rehoused in the Borough in any year. From this it is concluded that only "Green Spot" and above priority cases need be kept under close review.
18. The system of circularizing applicants on the waiting list after two years to confirm circumstances and renew applications has been successful in reducing the waiting list, but it is considered that a circular letter and application form followed by a reminder two weeks later to every applicant is too elaborate. Some onus should be placed on the applicant to take an interest in his application and *it is recommended that the circular letter should be amended in the final paragraph by the addition in heavy type of the words : "if no reply is received within fourteen days, your name will be deleted from the list of applicants," and should be sent to priority cases only—green spot and above.*
19. For non-priority applicants, *it is recommended that a preprinted letter be sent reminding the applicant of the need to inform the Housing Department of changed circumstances and requiring a "yes" answer to the question "Do you wish your application to remain on the waiting list?" See Appendix B.* No application form would be sent with this letter, and the checking of qualifications, re-assessment of points and filing operations would consequently be reduced. Small changes of circumstances are not relevant to these applicants, as they are unlikely to be rehoused.

Records

Comments and Conclusions

Case Paper Files

20. Some 45,000 sets of case papers are kept in the Records Office, which can be broken down as follows :

Dead Files	..	..	..	..	..	32,300
Waiting List	..	..	..	..	..	4,900
Tenants' Files	..	..	..	..	..	6,800
Clearance and Development Area Applicants	..					1,000 (approx.)
						45,000

21. The present accommodation for dead files is fully used and further basement accommodation has been requested. The need for permanent retention of case papers after removal from the waiting list or other reasons cannot be justified. The question "how long should withdrawn case papers be retained?" arises. The information contained in these records quickly becomes out-of-date and allocation of tenancies cannot be based on old information. A visit will be made to confirm an application before selection for a tenancy is considered. In these

PROJECT TRAINING AND CASE STUDIES

circumstances, the files can only be used for background information, which is not strictly relevant to the purpose of maintaining a waiting list—to allocate tenancies according to need. In these circumstances, "dead" files could be destroyed immediately. Bearing in mind that this is a public service and questions may be asked and also that applicants do not conform to a set pattern, we recommend retention of "dead" files for three years.

22. The present "dead files" should be weeded out and files transferred to this section more than three years ago should be destroyed. In nearly all circumstances, this means that no relevant information has been obtained for five years. *The present storage facilities should then be adequate.*

Alphabetical Card Index

23. The main use of this system is to ascertain whether a previous application has been received for an applicant. The same considerations apply as for case papers, except that waiting list points are allocated for ten years. We recommend, therefore, that index cards should be destroyed eight years after cancellation.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Paragraph No.

1. That the Council be asked to consider a general residential qualification of at least three years	14
2. That the application form be redesigned to exclude headings 9, 10, 13 and 16 and heading 11 to read "any previous addresses during the last three years," and should become heading 6 ..	15 & 16
3. That the circular letter to renew application be sent to priority applicants only and the words "If no reply is received within fourteen days, your name will be deleted from the list of applicants" added. No reminder sent	18
4. That a new circular letter, Appendix B, be sent to non-priority applicants without a fresh application form. No reminder sent	19
5. That "dead" case paper files be retained for three years only	21
6. That the use of additional basement accommodation for storage of records be deferred	22
7. That alphabetical index cards be destroyed eight years after cancellation	23

CONCLUSION

In our recommendations we have tried to keep in perspective the basic purpose of a housing waiting list and the need of a public service to keep records for other than functional procedures. The basic records have been retained, but their accumulation drastically reduced. Recommendations 1, 3 and 4 are designed to cut down the number on the waiting list and reduce the circulation of paper records within the office.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Some saving of staff time should result but in the absence of specific observation of procedures and without a full examination of case papers, this cannot be assessed. When considering this aspect it is well to bear in mind that a reduction in paper work could result in a reduction of the number of people handling a new application. E.g. the receptionist could complete the numbering and card indexing system, using the filing clerk to extract cards and case papers.

We believe that a complete examination of the work of the records office could result in a number of useful suggestions being made for the Housing Manager's consideration. The system, although almost foolproof, is overloaded, and designed, in some respect, for different circumstances than those obtaining at the present.

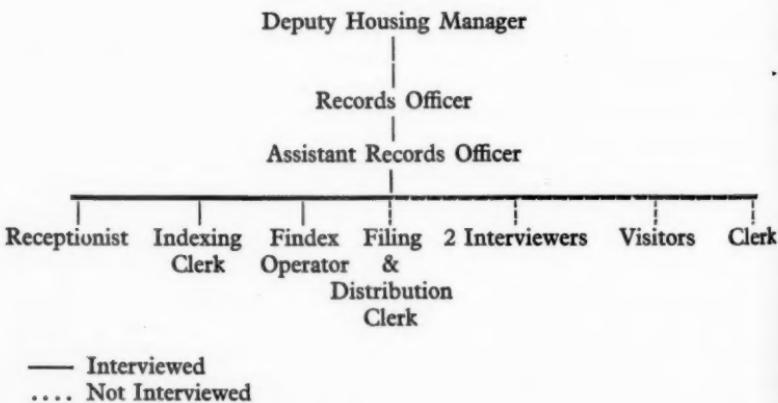
We thank all concerned for making the review possible. Our sincere appreciation of the co-operation and consideration of the Housing Manager and his Records Office Staff at Londham is inadequate recompense for the interruption of the office routine; may we hope that any suggestions made will make the inconvenience worth while.

E. H.
C. E. H.

April 1960.

REPORT APPENDIX A

HOUSING RECORDS OFFICE ORGANIZATION CHART



PROJECT TRAINING AND CASE STUDIES

REPORT APPENDIX B

BOROUGH OF LONDHAM

Housing Department,
High Street,
London, N.E.1.

Ref.....

Dear Sir Madam,

Referring to the application for housing accommodation you made to this Council some time ago, may I remind you that any change of circumstances should be notified to this office.

If you wish your name to remain on the list of housing applicants, please complete and return to me the detachable portion of this letter.

If no reply is received within fourteen days, your name will be removed from the list.

Yours faithfully,

Director of Housing.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

REF. NO.....

I wish my name to remain on the list of housing applicants.

Signed

Date

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A Civil Servant's Diary, 1841-46

By HENRY PARRIS

Dr Parris is Hallsworth Research Fellow at the University of Manchester.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES PASLEY (1780-1861) was a distinguished officer of the Royal Engineers who passed the last few years of his working life in the Civil Service. Educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, he was commissioned in 1797. From 1799 he saw much active service in the wars against Napoleon. In 1812 he became the first Director of the Royal Engineers Establishment at Chatham, a post he continued to hold until 1841.* The man appointed to succeed him—Lt.-Col. Sir Frederic Smith—was Inspector-General of Railways at the Board of Trade. Pasley, reluctant to retire on half-pay, applied for Smith's post and got it. From the present point of view, the important thing about Pasley is that he kept a diary,¹ which gives a detailed picture of life in the Civil Service in the early Victorian age.

HIS WORK

How hard did Pasley have to work? Was he like the fountains in Trafalgar Square? In one sense, he was not hard pressed. He acted as Public Examiner to the East India Company's School at Addiscombe throughout his time in the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. Sometimes he was away from London for weeks at a time supervising an important salvage operation for the Admiralty, namely, the raising of the wreck of the *Royal George* at Spithead. But he was ready to work extremely hard when necessary, as it often was. On 14th December 1845, for instance, he was "obliged after writing all day to go to York by the night mail." He returned to London the next day, and on the 16th, attended important speed trials on the Great Western. On 11th May 1846, he was on duty in Devonshire. He spent the night at Exeter and went next day to Liverpool. After carrying out various inspections there, he went on the 13th to Manchester and the next day, by rail, coach and chaise, to Berwick-upon-Tweed via York. Thence he went to Edinburgh, returning to Newcastle by the mail-coach seated beside the driver. After sleeping at Derby, he got home on the 17th. On 31st July 1846, he went to Nottingham for an inspection. The following day he was in Sheffield and Manchester, where there were lines to inspect. Although he got wet through in a thunderstorm, official callers at his hotel in the evening prevented him getting to bed. The next day was a Sunday, but he managed to fit in another inspection between church and bathing at Fleetwood. On the Monday he went by boat to inspect lines in Furness. After one more inspection, he returned to London on the Tuesday. On 2nd October 1846,

*For Pasley's career, see D.N.B. There is an unpublished biography of him in the British Museum (Add. M.S. 41766); but its account of his career ends in 1841.

he set out from Cumberland for Hull, reaching Normanton at 3 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd. After two and a half hours on the station, he got a train to Hull, made his inspection, and then went on to Darlington. There were further lines to see in County Durham and Northumberland before he returned to London on the 6th. Well might he say, as a man over sixty-five, "If I were in bad health, my days and previous nights work would make me ill. Thank heaven, they do me no harm."²

An inspection on Sunday has already been mentioned, and the diary shows that Sunday work was quite normal. On Sunday, 2nd June 1844, he went into the office, only to find that his clerk had "locked up everything." A week later, he was looking at third-class carriages—a matter which was important at that moment because of Gladstone's legislation on cheap trains which was under consideration. On the other hand, the entry "Look in at Board of Trade" under the date, Sunday, 30th November 1845, should probably be taken as evidence of curiosity rather than industry. For that day, at the height of the Railway Mania, was the closing date for the deposit of plans for Bills for the coming session. The scenes enacted at the Board of Trade were among the most extraordinary ever witnessed in Whitehall. Some 600 sets of plans were handed in, the last as midnight was striking, and in the small hours, crowds stood on the pavement, watching the endeavours of late-comers to persuade the officials to receive the documents.³ Sometimes Pasley would call on a colleague on Sunday to discuss official business. Sometimes he would have papers sent to his home to work on.⁴ All in all, his diary leaves the reader with an impression of great industry and conscientiousness.

RELATIONS WITH MINISTERS

The Board of Trade was a small office ; the entire staff in 1840 was only thirty.⁵ Pasley was not at the top of this modest tree. Between him and the President and Vice-President* were two joint Permanent Secretaries and the Superintendent of the Railway Department. Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence of direct contact between him and his political chiefs. Take, for example, the following series of entries :

18th March 1842. "Have an interview and explanation with Lord Ripon—afterwards see Mr Gladstone."

19th March 1842. "See Lord Ripon this afternoon . . . [he] takes my paper to look over."

20th March 1842. "When I go to the office, Mr Laing[†] informs me that Lord Ripon has seen and approved of my papers and his notes."

24th March 1842. "See Mr Gladstone."

26th March 1842. "See Mr Gladstone at Board of Trade."⁶

*Ripon was President of the Board of Trade, 1841-43 ; Gladstone was Vice-President, 1841-43, and President, 1843-45 ; Lord Dalhousie was Vice-President, 1843-45, and President, 1845-46 ; Sir George Clerk was Vice-President, 1845-46.

[†]Samuel Laing, Law and Corresponding Clerk in the Railway Department, 1840-44; Law Secretary to the Railway Board, 1844-45 ; see D.N.B.

On 5th May and 2nd July 1842, he was present at conferences between Ripon and representatives of companies. On 23rd May 1842, he and his colleague, Laing, took some papers into Ripon and "as our opinions are diametrically opposed, Lord Ripon takes the correspondence home with him." In September, Pasley found him reluctant to exercise his powers under the Railway Regulation Act, 1842, to make a compulsory purchase order in favour of a company, since he was "cautious and averse to taking people's land." In November, he was advising his chief about the state of a new line over which the Queen proposed to travel and recorded: "he is afraid of it . . . [but] afterwards becomes cold and resolute."⁷

Pasley's view of Ripon was on the whole favourable and contains few reminders of his weakness when Prime Minister in the eighteen-twenties. The sketch of Gladstone, on the other hand, is unfavourable and presents a marked contrast to the Gladstone of legend. "He is irresolute. He seems to be an extinguisher on everything decided,"⁸ wrote Pasley. He can hardly have been sorry when, in August 1844, Gladstone delegated railway business to Dalhousie. Up to that time, Pasley had noted altogether twenty-nine interviews with one or other of the political heads of his Department,⁹ at the rate of almost one a month.

THE RAILWAY BOARD

When Gladstone handed over railway business to Dalhousie, a new body was set up within the Board of Trade, with the confusing title of the Railway Board.* It was to last for less than a year and Pasley's diary shows clearly what its defect was. The whole episode throws light on the "ministerial" and "board" pattern of administration in the nineteenth century.† While Dalhousie remained responsible as Minister for railway business, he had also to preside over the Railway Board, the other members of which were civil servants—Pasley, G. R. Porter, Laing, and Donatus O'Brien.‡ The Board met frequently during its brief life, got through an immense amount of work, and published numerous reports. These last bore the signatures of each member of the Board, thus giving the impression that the official members had more than an advisory role. It only needed rumours of dissension within the Board to get about for critics to say that Dalhousie was no longer a responsible minister in railway affairs, but merely the creature of a Board, the majority of whose members were not in Parliament.

The diary shows conclusively that such criticism was unjust, and also that the rumours originated with Pasley himself. At a meeting in October 1844, Dalhousie expressly reserved the right to call on Pasley to sign a report with

*For a full account of the Railway Board, see my forthcoming article, "Railway Policy in Peel's Administration, 1841-46," in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*.

†Cf. F. M. G. Willson, "Ministries and Boards: Some Aspects of Administrative Development Since 1832," *Public Administration*, xxxiii (1955), pp. 43-58.

‡G. R. Porter, first head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, 1834-47; Superintendent, Railway Department, 1840-44; Senior Member, Railway Board, 1844-45; Joint Permanent Secretary, Board of Trade, 1847-52; see D.N.B., Donatus O'Brien, General Secretary, Railway Board, 1844-45, and Railway Department, 1845-46.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

which he disagreed or else resign. So much is clear from later evidence, though at the time, Pasley recorded only, "Lord Dalhousie lays down the law respecting Board proceedings in a most despotic manner." There the matter rested until 13th November 1844, when the diary reads :

"Request an interview with Lord Dalhousie. State that at the Board meeting where he laid down the law, he had acted under a misapprehension of my feelings and meaning, and that his sort of reprimand, just if I had really intended to refuse or dispute his authority, was not called for and had hurt my feelings. Twice he declared that he retracted nothing, and that I had it in my power to resign, but that if he had hurt my feelings he was sorry for it. We shake hands."

But Pasley's differences with his colleagues on the Board were not at an end. "My views opposed by O'Brien," he wrote ; "the thing in question a trifle but as usual decided against me." He suspected Laing of keeping back documents relating to the South Eastern Railway and noted that Porter and he opposed Laing when the Board was drawing up a report on that company's plans. After seeing Dalhousie in December 1844, he wrote : "from an expression of his, anticipate another scene." Two months later, he found it necessary to "speak rather warmly to Lord Dalhousie."¹⁰

Pasley did not keep these disagreements to himself, and in February 1845, his indiscretion was brought home to him :

"Lord Dalhousie states at the Board that Sir Robert Peel [and the Government] had been embarrassed by the question having been put that two members of the Board, namely, General Pasley and Mr Porter, had been against the others ; he would ask no questions but hoped that no member of the Board would give any hint."

Pasley thereupon admitted that he had already discussed the Board's proceeding with friends ; when Dalhousie "used the word 'reprimand,' alluding to what had before passed between us, I might have replied warmly but stopped short."¹¹ It is clear that as head of the Railway Board, Dalhousie was master in his own house, not merely *primus inter pares*. But it was a cumbersome mode of procedure, which gave his critics unnecessary opportunities and brought no compensating advantages. It is no wonder that as soon as opportunity offered, Dalhousie dispensed with it. Pasley recorded its last meeting :

"Lord Dalhousie has his last Board meeting. Explains his feelings and proceedings. Shakes all the members most cordially [by the hand]. . . . I am now persuaded . . . that he is sincerely cordial with me. I am restored to my first position, which is much pleasanter than to be member of a Board, where the chief *at first* withheld all confidence."¹²

RELATIONS WITH COLLEAGUES

The above will have given the impression that Pasley was not an easy man to work with. As a military officer of high rank who had been for many years at the head of an important establishment, it was naturally difficult for him to

adjust himself to a subordinate position in a civilian department, most of the members of which were much younger than himself. Porter was the most usual object of his wrath. Primarily the head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade at £800 a year, Porter received an extra £200 to superintend the Railway Department also. The implication was that he should give it only one-fifth of his time. This, combined with the fact that Laing and Pasley, although nominally his subordinates, enjoyed free access over his head to the political chiefs of the Department, rendered his position anomalous. Pasley wrote :

"Have an explanation with Mr Laing and Mr Porter. See Mr Gladstone. I object to Mr. Porter being the Superintendent. Mr Laing confirms what Sir F. Smith told me, that Porter is a sinecure [sic]. The arrangement of the Railway Department must be altered."

Two days later, he talked with Gladstone "about the false position in which I am placed by Mr Porter, a sinecurist." As time went on, things at first got worse ; "Mr Porter insists upon being the chief and uses a much higher tone than he did at first." But the inception of the Railway Board, which led to Porter's being styled Senior Member instead of Superintendent, had the result of improving Pasley's view of his colleague. In March 1845, he wrote : "I approve of Porter. He is a very useful member of the Board."¹³

More important were Pasley's relations with the Assistant Inspector appointed in the summer of 1844, Capt. Coddington, R.E. Pasley, not unnaturally, treated him as an assistant—"send Capt. Coddington to inquire into an accident," for example. But Coddington, observing that Pasley enjoyed direct access to Dalhousie, two Permanent Secretaries and Porter notwithstanding, thought the principle should be carried one stage lower, namely, to himself. As Pasley wrote :

"An explanation with Coddington. His feelings are hurt, because I prevented him from acting independently of me, he being my Assistant. He complains that his opinions are set aside by me, I having objected to his sending in independent reports."

and, a month later,

"Captain Coddington and I have a difference of opinion. He wishes to be considered on a par with me, and to communicate direct with Lord Dalhousie, not only in my absence but at all times. I speak to his Lordship, who seems as usual to make difficulties."

Whatever difficulties he made on this occasion, it was Dalhousie who settled the question by treating the two as equals and dealing direct with Coddington. Such a course might have led to unnecessary trouble for him had they put in contradictory reports, in which case he would have been the lay judge between conflicting experts. But, although the matter was not satisfactorily settled in principle, no difficulty in practice seems to have arisen.¹⁴

It is pleasing to mention, before turning from Pasley's relations with the men in his office, that he never recorded the least criticism of his personal clerk and draftsman, Finlay Mackenzie, whom he rewarded with a silver watch.¹⁵

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Social relations outside the office supplemented official relations within it. Ripon entertained Pasley at dinner, once in company with Gladstone, and on another occasion with MacGregor one of the joint Peamanent Secretaries, and Gladstone's private secretary, the future Sir Stafford Northcote. Pasley dined with the MacGregors and himself entertained Coddington. Laing and O'Brien visited Dalhousie at Deal Castle, his official residence.¹⁶

RELATIONS WITH RAILWAY COMPANIES

More important were Pasley's social relations with the officials of railway companies. The question had been raised when the first factory inspectors were appointed ; could an inspector preserve his impartiality after accepting an invitation to dinner?¹⁷ Pasley had no inhibitions in the matter. At a dinner given by the London and South Western Company, the company's engineer, Joseph Locke, toasted him, and he proposed in reply, "Success to the company." He lunched and dined with Saunders and Brunel, secretary and engineer respectively of the Great Western. As the guest of the South Eastern and Croydon Companies he sat on the right of the Chairman, and drank champagne. His note continues : "Come home at a late hour. Fall in the street near Mansion House"—whether as a result of the champagne does not appear. When inspecting the Bristol and Exeter he enjoyed "a collation of salmon, fowls, roast lamb, &c., &c." and more champagne. He attended a party given by Creed, secretary of the London and North Western, and a "splendid entertainment" given by Peto, the great contractor, after inspecting one of his lines. While inspecting a Kent line, he dined and stayed with the engineer who had built it. On another occasion, he took his young son with him on an inspection. After a drink with the Great Western secretary—champagne again—he notes, "Mr Saunders takes care of George." Had the wine proved too much for him ? Did so much good fellowship bias Pasley's judgment ? There is no evidence that it did, and there is something to be said on the other side. The powers of the Board of Trade over railways were few and weak. Much of its achievement in this field was the result of persuasion rather than legal power. For example, in Pasley's day, and for long after, there was no statutory basis for the enquiries which were held into every important railway accident ; yet the companies invariably co-operated. Perhaps Pasley's social gifts contributed to the establishment of good relations between his Department and the companies.¹⁸

RELATIONS WITH THE PRESS

Pasley was similarly uninhibited in the expression of his political views, in spite of his official position. He was not a party man. When Lord John Russell's attempt to form a Government in December 1845, broke down, he wrote :

"Sir Robert Peel in again, which gave me great pleasure. He has broken up the parties—so much the better—I hate bigoted Tories and bigoted Whigs, but respect the former more than the latter because they defended the country and overthrew Buonaparte, to whom the latter truckled and might have made us a province of France."

As for the Radicals, he agreed in discussion with Joseph Hume that "commerce &c., railways, steam, brought nations better acquainted, and rendered the desire of war less violent, and would render wars less frequent." But on one issue—Ireland—he felt very strongly, and made it an exception to his usual rule of "not interfering in the internal politics of the country, which as a military man not possessed of landed property, I considered unbecoming and unnecessary." In July 1843, he wrote to *The Times*, deplored the weakness of the Government's Irish policy. Although the letter was not meant for publication, it was a remarkable effusion. He wrote of the "unaccountable supineness of the present Ministers of this country, whose measures are a disgrace to them as individuals and collectively, [and] through them, to the nation." He called on an M.P. "to applaud his proceedings in Parliament," and spoke on Ireland at a dinner, "reprobating O'Connell and the inactivity of the government." So far was he from wishing his words unspoken that, on looking into the press, he regretted finding no report of the dinner, "as I should have wished my sentiments to appear." In October 1843, he went over to Dublin on duty. His note for the second day of his visit includes the following: "Dine at the Irish Academy Club. Very pleasant. Declare my anti-repeal sentiments." The following day, he dined with the Lord Mayor and made another political speech. On his return to London, he noted a conversation with an M.P. about O'Connell: "he agrees with me in wishes, but doubts the power." In February 1844, he spoke once more at a dinner, but found "less sympathy with anti-repeal sentiments."¹⁹ Pasley never seems to have felt that these dabblings in politics were wrong, or even dangerous.

What did prove dangerous was Pasley's attitude to the press, not about politics, but about the apparently innocuous subject of his conduct at an inquest. Like other nineteenth century civil servants, he was subject to personal attacks in the press, and was sensitive to them. He affected to despise railway journalists: "What blackguards these fellows are!" he wrote, after the most celebrated of them had said he had been "laughed at" for his conduct of a particular enquiry. But he was attacked in the daily press—the *Morning Post* and *The Times*—as well.²⁰

Summoned to give evidence at an inquest on a fatal accident in January 1846, he involved himself in a technical argument with the company's engineer, in which he strongly criticized the design of some engines by Robert Stephenson. On the way back to London he met two reporters, one of them from *The Times*: "It does not strike me that they will report my evidence accurately. One of them reads his notes to me, which appear to be very carefully done." *The Times* report did in fact turn out to be inaccurate and he saw Dalhousie about it, who, however, cared "little about such bad reporting." Any criticism of so distinguished an engineer as Robert Stephenson was, of course, news, and so Pasley can hardly have been surprised to "receive an ill-natured attack upon my evidence from a blackguard railway editor." But it made him decide to write to *The Times*, and his letter was published, giving his own version of his evidence. As a result, he received a letter from Dalhousie

"in which he finds fault with my having published a letter in *The Times*

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to combat the errors in the report of my evidence . . . in short, it is a sort of reprimand, which I despise."

In his reply, Pasley gave

"his Lordship clearly to understand that, as a British officer, and a gentleman, I am the guardian of my own honour, and that I will not ask his permission to publish anything in defence of my own character."

The incident closed with a further letter from Dalhousie, justifying his course of action,²¹ but Pasley did not think it worth copying in his diary.

CONTROL OVER RAILWAYS

The diary affords glimpses of law in the making. In March 1842, Gladstone received two deputations in reference to the Government's Railway Regulation Bill, then before Parliament. The resulting Act contains a curious provision, unrelated to the rest of the measure, removing the maximum weight limit for passenger coaches to which many companies were subject by their private Acts. It was added to the measure, apparently casually, by the Government when the Bill was in its final stages. Pasley gives the inside story. In a dispute as to the terms on which a company could use another company's line, an objection was raised

"to their railway carriages being beyond the legal weight . . . [which] is 4 tons, load included. The actual weight of railway passenger carriages is 4 tons, 3 or 5 cwt., load not included, and of mail carriages . . . 4 tons, 10 cwt., load not included. Lord Ripon expresses his regret that this circumstance was not brought forward before, as the weight of carriages has been legislated upon and it seems absurd that the law should have been evaded or set aside."

When Pasley looked into it, he found that carriages above the legal maximum weight were widely used—even by the company that had raised the objection! The heaviest, he found, were almost twice the permitted weight. But the heavier carriages were stronger, and so safer.²² Hence it was not desirable to enforce the law. Against this background, the repeal of the maximum weight provision is easily comprehensible.

Equally revealing is what Pasley has to say about the interpretation of the law by the Department. The Railway Regulation Act of 1842 gave the Board power to postpone the opening of a new line. But a company which had powers to build a line with more than one track sometimes completed one first and sought to open with single line traffic. The Department could postpone such a proceeding on grounds of safety; but if it acquiesced, did it thereby forfeit its claim to inspect subsequent tracks as they were completed? In other words, were they new lines within the meaning of the Act? Could the Board by order suspend their opening? The wording of the Act was not clear and the legal point remained unsettled. It was of some importance. Had the Department done nothing, companies might well have acquired a right to multiply the tracks of existing lines without further inspection, at least where they could do so without seeking fresh powers. On the other hand, had a collision occurred on one track

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of such a line, while the second remained unopened by order of the Board of Trade, the company would try to persuade the public that the Board rather than itself was to blame. This was the possibility uppermost in Pasley's mind when he heard that

"Lord Dalhousie has prevented the second line of rails of the Maidstone branch of the South Eastern from being used. Thus the Department for Public Safety opposes it by causing one line to be used instead of two. If a collision occurs, blame will attach to him."

The Courts years later upheld Dalhousie. But law was not Pasley's strong point. He had been exercising powers under the 1842 Act for almost four years before he realized that it gave the Board no power to authorize the opening of a line, but only to postpone such opening in the interests of safety.²³

Towards the end of his life, Dicey perceived that "the imposition upon the government of new duties . . . almost implies, and certainly has in fact promoted, the transference to departments of the central government . . . of judicial or quasi-judicial functions."²⁴ Pasley shows us this process in operation seventy years earlier. The 1842 Act authorized the Board to confer by Order powers to alter the construction of earthworks and to substitute level crossings for bridges. Pasley shows us Ripon and Gladstone presiding over enquiries into such applications and the objections to them, and his own part in preparing reports on such cases. Later, he gives a picture of Dalhousie hearing an appeal against a decision of the Board. The opening of a line in Cumberland had been postponed. Pasley happened to call on Dalhousie just after he had heard a protest from members of the company: he

"says that Lord Lonsdale and Mr George Stephenson were insolent to him and said, 'What could Royal Engineers possibly know about railways?' and therefore, though he would not otherwise object to compromising or meeting the [company] half way, he does not like being bullied into concession."

Lord Lonsdale's political influence was great enough to encourage Dalhousie to find a way of yielding gracefully. He sent Pasley to make a second inspection—Coddington had made the first—and, as a result of Pasley's report, revoked the postponement order.²⁵

DEPARTURE FROM OFFICIAL LIFE

Pasley's disappearance from Whitehall was a tragic-comedy. An Act of 1846 set up a new body, the Commissioners of Railways, to take over the duties of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. Pasley was over sixty-five, and he might have taken the opportunity to retire. But the idea of a normal retiring age was as yet unfamiliar to civil servants. Left to himself, Pasley would probably have emulated such a man as Sir John Barrow, who had the year before, at the age of eighty, at last given up the post of Permanent Secretary at the Admiralty after holding it for nearly forty years. Pasley's first reaction was to see the new set-up as a personal opportunity; he would be one of the new Commissioners. Lord John Russell had replaced Peel

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as Prime Minister, and so Pasley had a new set of Ministers to deal with. He wrote to Lord Clarendon, the new President, and saw Milner-Gibson, the new Vice-President, of the Board of Trade. He also saw Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He declared his ambition to them all and wrote the Prime Minister a letter which began as follows :

" My Lord,

As the appointment of President and Commissioners of the new Railway Department of government will depend upon your Lordship, I beg leave respectfully to offer myself as a candidate for the office of one of the two paid Commissioners who are to form a part of the proposed establishment."

After some weeks of silence, he heard that a brother officer of the Royal Engineers had been named as a Commissioner and concluded—rightly, as it turned out—that his own chances were at an end.²⁶

His first resolve he had expressed in the form of a motto : *aut commissum [?] aut nihil.* Now he lowered his sights. Perhaps he could carry on as Inspector-General, but with a higher salary. He had an interview with the Prime Minister to " explain that my feelings have been hurt . . . and that my being set aside for " another Royal Engineer officer " who has no military services to boast " and no greater professional knowledge " is a mystification to me, especially as I have served nearly five years in the Railway Department." Russell replied

" naturally enough that he cannot enter into personal feelings respecting any appointments in the public service, whether law, church, or others. I then tell him that I consider the duties of Inspector-General of Railways to be equally important with those of the Commissioners and that if his Lordship will increase my salary to that of the Assistant Commissioners, viz. £1,500 a year, it will remove all feelings of disappointment from me, and at the same time, take away the sort of slight, which will attach to me in public estimation, because if the public know that an officer has been selected for an appointment of £1,500 a year in preference to me, they will consider it an imputation or a disparagement to me, because, however unjustly it may be in particular cases, the merit of individuals and the importance of appointments in the same branch of the public service is estimated by the amount of salary ; also that, as a military officer, my income dies with me, and I owe it to my family not to neglect their interest. His Lordship replies that he can make no promise, but that he must consult the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr Strutt."²⁷

Pasley, of course, wasted no time in seeking an interview himself with Strutt,* who at first struck him as " frank, open and friendly." He also denied being consulted about the appointment of Pasley's rival. But Pasley reversed his view a week later, when he wrote : " Mr Strutt behaves in what I consider a treacherous manner ; promises to lay my statement before the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and returns saying that the Board of which he is chief has recommended, and the Minister approved, my ceasing to be employed."

*Edward Strutt, M.P., was President of the Commissioners of Railways 1846-48.

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Strutt offered him the chance to see the Board, but Pasley declined since he could "only tell them what I have told him, that I was hardly and unjustly treated in being dismissed from government employment."

And in spite of a weary round of interviews, and the writing of more letters to men in high places, that was that. Shaw Lefevre, MacGregor's fellow joint Permanent Secretary at the Board of Trade, advised him: "that there is no use to resist. Asks me what means I will take. I say certainly not through Parliament. But I will not allow the slur put upon my character by their turning me off without cause assigned to pass unanswered."

His attempts to get a fresh military appointment failed, and he was left to derive what consolation he could from the award of the K.C.B. His career was at an end.²⁸

Pasley's diary is very much a record of working life. Nevertheless, odd sentences here and there give a few glimpses of the man himself. He accounts for two mistakes in handwriting by saying "my pen really seems to be intoxicated." He amuses himself by referring to his spouse as "my YF." His reaction to his son's poor showing in French was to "threaten to send him to a boarding school." He occupied some of his many long hours of travelling with mathematics, but noted sadly, "stupid at maths. In future, not try it in railway carriages . . . maths incompatible with railway carriage." With satisfaction he recorded that "the very savoury tomato sauce made last week by our cook [was] a great saving and better than that bought in Regent Street." One day, finding himself alone in the house with his son, he took the opportunity to "tell him my early history of which he was quite unaware." Invited to dine at Lord Ripon's for the Queen's Birthday, he found "all the party in uniform or court dress but me" and crowned his misfortunes by giving someone half a sovereign for a sixpence. Above all, he lost things—his purse, proofs of Parliamentary papers, a silver pen holder, a memorandum book, seals and keys.²⁹ But such glimpses are few and, as a revelation of character, the diary would be poor reading.

REFERENCES

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²Add. MS. 41991, 14th-16th December 1845, 41992, 11th-17th May, 31st July-4th August, 1st-6th October 1846.

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⁵Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, *Board of Trade* (1928), p. 52.

⁶Add. MS. 41989, 18th-26th March 1842.

⁷Add. MS. 41989, 5th and 23rd May, 2nd July, 21st September, 26th November 1842.

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¹⁰Add. MS. 41991, 17th October, 13th, 15th, 17th and 19th November and 10th December 1844, 16th-17th January and 17th February 1845.

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¹³Add. MS. 41989, 24th and 26th March 1842, 12th and 30th January 1843, Add. MS. 41991, 1st March 1845.

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¹⁸Add. MS. 41989, 4th February, 25th June, 22nd August 1842, 28th April 1843, 41990, 11th July, 26th October 1843, 30th January, 6th July 1844, cf. 41991, 20th October 1845.

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²⁴A. V. Dicey, "Development of Administrative Law in England," *Law Quarterly Review*, xxxi (1915), p. 149.

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²⁷Add. MS. 41992, 22nd August and 3rd November 1846.

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²⁹Add. MS. 41990, 26th and 29th June, 2nd July 1843, 6th April, 14th and 16th June 1844, 41991, 1st November, 23rd [?] December 1845, 41992, 29th April, 16th and 17th May, 6th and 9th June 1846.

Story of a Scottish Museum

By W. A. Ross, O.B.E.

*An account of the history and recent reorganization of the Elgin Museum
by one of its directors.*

THIS article is based mainly upon experience of a very limited kind in a comparatively small town. It may be that the method of approach—concentration on a narrowly defined subject matter—is no less profitable than studies that attempt to cover the whole range of national and local affairs. Elgin, the city of Elgin, is a small town (population 10,624 in 1951, 9,193 in 1931), but it is a Royal Burgh with an ancient history, with the ruins of a cathedral which was once one of the finest, if not the finest, in Scotland, and with a Lord Provost who ranks with the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen and Perth. In 1836 there was founded in Elgin a body called the Elgin and Morayshire Literary and Scientific Association, whose interests centred in a museum built in 1842, much extended in 1896 and again in 1921. Its funds have been entirely derived from gifts or bequests, from entrance fees (now 1s. for adults and 6d. for children) to the museum, from annual contributions (now 10s. a head) of the Associate members (100 to 150) and sundry other sources. There has been no contribution from the rates.

THE GOVERNING BODY

The Association is governed by a body of sixteen or eighteen directors, including a president or chairman, honorary secretary, treasurer, and curator of the museum, with a paid keeper or caretaker of the museum. Even now the expenditure is not much over £300 and formerly it was, of course, much less. A director retires at the end of three years and generally offers himself for re-election at the annual meeting of the members of the Association, very thinly attended, where his re-election is almost automatic. The same chairman, often a former Lord Provost, has continued year after year. New appointments are by co-option of the directors, subject to the approval, in practice automatic, of the members at the annual meeting. It should be mentioned here that there is a proposal which may shortly mature to make the constitution of the Association more flexible and to enlarge its range of local functions. In my time there might have been seen at a directors' meeting a Lord Provost, a retired Lord Provost, a Sheriff or Deputy Sheriff, a director of education, a schoolmaster, a clergyman, a doctor, and some of the prominent business men of the town. I was co-opted as a member of this body some time before 1946 and in that year was rejected by the electorate as a candidate for election to the town council. On the question of co-option versus popular election, one cannot resist the conclusion, if one contrasts a body such as that above set out with any normal town council, that there is much to be said in favour of co-option. I was in fact later co-opted as a member of the Library Committee of the town council. For some centuries before

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1835, both in Scotland and in England, the towns were governed by self-elected bodies, which were, I imagine, very like our own body of museum directors. They were condemned by Royal Commissions in or about 1835 both in England and Scotland, but it will be recalled that the Webbs, who had in England made their own researches, disagreed with this general condemnation as governed by party bias and found that in various towns administration by these self-elected councils had been very good; in others it had been bad.¹

HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATION

If we look at the history of the Elgin Association and their governing body of directors, especially in the second half of the last century and the early part of this century, the verdict must be "very good." The museum was a centre of research for certain directors and other members of the Association. The geology of the area, with its rich stores of fossil relics, the fauna and flora, the history of Elgin and neighbourhood; these subjects were pursued with such zeal and energy as to result in original contributions to science especially in geology. No expert in that subject can now ignore the fossils of Elgin museum, for instance, the *Hyperodapedon Gordoni* or the *Psammosteus Taylori*. Dr Gordon was the minister of a parish near Elgin and Taylor was a business man who in retirement lived in Llanbryde, near Elgin. How Dr Gordon, like other local ministers engaged in similar pursuits, was able to find time for his ministerial duties is a mystery. Dr Gordon explained to an elderly invalid lady, who complained of the rarity of his visits, that he was a very busy man. Her reply was "If I had been a paddock (i.e. a toad) you would have come to see me more often." Thomas Huxley, who was a friend of Dr Gordon, visited Elgin museum on more than one occasion and wrote studies of the fossils in the *Journal of the Geological Society*, particularly a lengthy monograph in 1877. A capacity for research on the above scale by local residents appears to have faded out, but experts and students from the South or even from abroad still visit the museum occasionally to study the fossils and make researches for fossils in local quarries. As regards local history, so recently as 1914 a director, now deceased, who combined the offices of secretary and curator of the museum, produced a book which has become a local classic—*Elgin Past and Present*, by H. B. Mackintosh.

RECENT REORGANIZATION

In the beginning of 1953 I became curator and found the job by no means a bed of roses. A practice had developed of accepting nearly everything that was offered by way of donation and the museum was full of bric-à-brac. In the directors' room the floor was cluttered up with heavy tomes of seventeenth and eighteenth century theology. After various attempts to get rid of them I induced the Archbishop of Canterbury to accept most of them as a gift. A few went to a Bishop in Ireland. This was only the beginning. A small sub-committee was appointed, with full executive powers, of younger

¹See my article: "Early Scottish Local Government," *Public Administration*, Vol. XXIV, Spring 1946.

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men who had recently become directors, and they set to work with a will, to get rid of superfluous articles and reduce overcrowding. The process was much accelerated when it was found that the roof was in parts leaking badly and it was decided to make a complete overhaul of the structure and contents of the museum with the help of a bequest of over £4,000 recently received, and a grant of £750 in a lump sum from the Carnegie Trustees. This grant was subject to stringent conditions. One of the articles of the Association had provided that priority be given to subjects connected with the County of Moray and districts adjoining, but in recent years the museum had acquired quite a foreign aspect. The grant from the Trustees was given on conditions that the museum was to be strictly local and regional, and that foreign exhibits were to be disposed of except some of the best, which were to be relegated to the gallery upstairs. A few years previously the committee, then composed of older men, would have rejected such conditions, but they were not unacceptable to the above-mentioned executive sub-committee. Some of the foreign exhibits were sold mainly to the British Museum and the Royal Museum, Edinburgh, and £1,000 was thus realized. Other exhibits, not merely foreign, were given to smaller museums or to colleges and schools as a gift. Much was given to scrap merchants in Elgin and much to salvage. The most anxious care was taken that nothing of value was destroyed, but it would be too much to say that no mistakes were made. If any similar reconstruction or clearance is made in the museums of other towns it would be well that the salvage department should be on the alert and not give to the destructor or the dump every article sent to it.

In rearranging or clearing the exhibits, valuable help and advice was given by Dr Allan, of the Royal Museum, Edinburgh, and Mr Stevenson, of the National Museum of Antiquities, and by their expert assistants, and, with the help of the lady who acts as keeper, very much was done by a few of the directors including the chairman, a former Lord Provost, who himself arranged and labelled some of the cases (e.g. of butterflies and moths) and was mainly responsible for a very admirable colour scheme, reproducing in the front hall the colour scheme of 1842. At this point I cannot help remarking that I was never fully in agreement with the advice of the late Sir Arthur Robinson, of the Ministry of Health, that any person in high office should keep clear of details and stick to general principles. There must be something in it, for, according to an article in the *Sunday Times*, similar advice was given by Lord Montgomery when promoting a subordinate to high command in the army. To my mind you cannot grasp general principles without a knowledge of detail and you cannot grasp detail without a knowledge of general principles.

The museum, which had been closed for some time, was opened again to the public in April 1958, by which time I was no longer curator though still a director. The reconstruction is not quite complete as the gallery has still to be arranged, with the aid of a further similar grant from the Carnegie Trustees. The result, so far as it has gone, was warmly commended by Dr Allan, Mr Stevenson and other connoisseurs. The fact that Elgin was selected as a place of meeting last April for the Federation of Scottish Museums is a sufficient indication. This approval has been expressed not only by

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museum experts but by other knowledgeable persons whom I have contacted. The front hall, which is part of the original building of 1842, has been especially commended as an example of modern museum technique. Two aisles, formerly open to the public, have been partitioned off as stores. On either side of the hall are now five cases in shop-front style, with interior lighting, containing some of the best exhibits in the museum, fossils, bronze-age urns and weapons found in the neighbourhood, with exquisite specimens of Indian, Buddhist or Chinese art—a wholesome exception to the local and regional formula. The centre is left free.

PUBLIC REACTION TO REORGANIZATION

But what has been the reaction of the general public? The response was at first very good while the novelty lasted, but the interest appears to have waned. The young people so far are not attracted. They miss the wild things of wood and forest from overseas. The walls above the front hall, now bare, were formerly adorned with numerous antlered heads of deer, bringing nostalgic memories to colonials now back in their Elgin home, surmounted by many dried skins of snakes. Well displayed were heads of a hippopotamus, two rhinos, and at least one elephant shot by a hunter of local renown. (The last four heads are still in store.) Few denizens of the jungle, in some shape or form, were absent. Crocodiles, withered by long exposure, were, by competent advice, with other similar exhibits sent to salvage. But even these used to interest the young more than the fossilized relics, in pallid bits and pieces, of the similar reptiles which flourished in Moray under different climatic conditions some 150 or 200 million years ago. (These fossils are now admirably displayed under the best available expert advice.) One or two bizarre items were so popular that they are still displayed in the front hall, especially the head of a South American Indian, which his enemies by some chemical process had reduced to the size of a cricket ball. There has long been a dispute in Elgin whether the hair of the head is still growing. It is hoped that there may be similar concessions to popular sentiment when the gallery is reorganized and reopened. There are foreign specimens now in store which from any point of view are valuable, for instance, Mexican relics of Aztec and Mayan culture and Indian gods brought from India not long before the Mutiny.

A wall of the front hall was formerly adorned with primitive weapons from all parts of the world, spears, clubs, boomerangs and the like, while the floor and the adjacent aisles were cluttered up with tom-toms and also with relics of two wars, tommy-guns, machine guns, and in one locked case hand grenades and shells, one or two alive. The sub-committee, rightly or wrongly, quickly got rid of the war relics, but the primitive weapons are mostly still in store. There were also swords and pistols, some of which, claymore and broad swords and pistols in various stages of evolution, are now very neatly displayed. The abundance of war material may help to account for a remarkable surge of popularity in the museum in the 1940s and subsequent years prior to the reconstruction.

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The records of the museum show that fifty or sixty years ago there might have been as many as 500 or more visitors on New Year's Day, and as recently as 1945 there were on that day about 200 visitors. When I was curator a few years ago there were so many visitors on a coast holiday, especially young people, that the keeper and I found it difficult to keep order. After the reopening in 1958 the museum was open to visitors on Christmas Day 1958 and on New Year's Day 1959, and not a single visitor attended. An Elgin holiday seldom brings more than one or two visitors, perhaps to see the shrunken head. On a coast holiday the museum does better. It may receive as many as thirty or more. What inference can be drawn from these facts? Can it be that Plato's view in his *Republic* is correct that only the wise, who have received a lengthy mental training, can judge what is good and right? One's inclination is to say—*malo cum Platone errare*. But in this age of the common man and universal suffrage is it clear that the many are wrong and the few are right?

When I was curator, though I helped to initiate reform, I favoured a policy of gradualism, not of drastic revolution. Concentration on local and regional objects is a policy one associates especially with Dr Allan, who with others advises the Carnegie Trustees on matters relating to museums. But a suggestion of this policy may be found in Sir Henry Mier's report on museums to the Carnegie Trustees in 1928 and Sir S. F. Markham's report of 1938 to the Trustees on museums and art galleries. The report of the Scottish Advisory Council on libraries, museums and art galleries in 1951 at least by implication seems to support such a suggestion. (The Federation of Scottish Museums declined to support the recommendation of the Advisory Council that museums should be administered by education authorities.) Any new museum, or any recently constituted museum in a provincial town, should, I think, adopt the local and regional policy, provided the words are liberally interpreted. But the policy is not so well adapted to a mixed museum such as Elgin, founded more than 100 years ago with many valuable exhibits brought from abroad by distinguished natives of the town long resident in foreign parts. From a purely educational point of view the policy is fundamentally sound. In the past education of the young was much too academic. If the working hours of the boy are spent in studying serious books of long ago and the leisure hours in reading books of adventure in distant lands, the capacity is dimmed for seeing and hearing what is actually happening in the world round about him. The boy may become metaphorically blind. The museum is something half way between books and the scene outside. Nothing can be more illuminating than to hear a teacher who is well informed on museum lore instruct a class of children in a well arranged museum. Something is being done on these lines in Elgin, but not nearly enough. If children become interested they will interest and educate their parents. The museum may thus have gained in educational value what it has lost in value as entertainment. This loss may be recovered in part when the reorganization is complete. But when so many rival attractions, and especially television, appeal to the public, it is not likely that the museum will ever be so popular as before.

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District Societies of the Corporation are established at Belfast, Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Cardiff, Chester, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle upon Tyne, Nottingham, Preston, Sheffield, Stoke-on-Trent, Swansea, Bombay, Cape Town, Hong Kong, Johannesburg, and Singapore.

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Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations are held twice yearly, in June and December. A copy of the Syllabus may be obtained on application to the Secretary of the Corporation.

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE CORPORATION

Secretaries Chronicle (monthly); Manual of Secretarial Practice; Manual on the Law of Meetings; Secretaries' Guide to the Law of Town and Country Planning; Secretaries' Guide to the Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1956; List of Members, 1959, and Booklets of past Examination Question Papers.

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Report from the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries : British Railways

THE Select Committee on Nationalized Industries issued their Report* on British Railways in July 1960. Their predecessors had been asked by the British Transport Commission to examine the Commission's railway activities in June 1958, but were unable to do so because they then had the Air Corporations under review. Their Report on the Air Corporations (noted in the Winter 1959 issue) paid a great deal of attention to relationships between Ministers and the Boards as well as to the efficiency with which the Corporations' affairs had been conducted.

RELATIONS WITH MINISTERS

In the present Report the emphasis is much more on efficiency, but the Committee have still been interested in the extent to which the influence of Ministers goes beyond their statutory powers, and the effect of this on the management of British Railways. In financial matters—investment plans and borrowing—the Committee comment that the Minister of Transport "can, if he so wishes, exercise a control over the Commission's capital plans for the railways that is similar to the control which he exercises statutorily over the country's road programme."

The Minister also has a firm control over fares ; he has formally intervened to restrict fare increases on two occasions and there are "continuous discussions . . . on broad points of fares policy" so that "it would seem unlikely that . . . the Commission's formal proposals about fares should vary in any great degree from what the Minister thought best." Finally, say the Committee, although "there is never any desire to interfere with the actual process of management," "when the public interest so requires, the Minister can call for action from the British Transport Commission whether or not the statute specifically allows."

The picture is, then, one of firm control by the Minister ; nevertheless the Commission feel themselves exposed to a conflict between business considerations and wider interests involving social policy. The Select Committee agree with the Ministry that no such conflict should exist ; "if decisions are to be taken on grounds of the national economy or of social needs, then they must be taken by the Minister, and submitted by him for the approval of Parliament.

"Furthermore, if Parliament is to specify that certain services should be undertaken, despite the fact that the Commission cannot profitably undertake them, then the additional cost of them should be provided, in advance, out of public funds.

*Report from Select Committee on Nationalized Industries : *British Railways*. House of Commons Paper 254. H.M.S.O., 5s. 6d.

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"Subsidies of this kind . . . should be paid for specific purposes and they should be paid openly . . . not disguised as, for instance, a payment of the track costs . . . nor as the writing off of the burden of interest; and they should not be hidden away in the Commission's accounts."

THE MODERNIZATION PLAN

The Committee paid a great deal of attention to the Railways Modernization Plan, which had just been re-appraised by the Commission. The plan had the general blessing of the Ministry but it was not examined in detail until 1956, well over a year later, when "the Ministry thought that a convincing case had been made out for it." By 1957 the original estimates had been increased by 34 per cent.; when railway earnings fell considerably below expectation in 1958 the plan was re-appraised at the Minister's request and the Ministry "began to ask for a much more detailed justification for the schemes."

Early in 1960 "they asked that all schemes costing more than £250,000 should be referred to them for their views." Thus for the first time the Ministry became aware of the way in which the Commission's figures had been calculated; "what they learnt, came as a shock." Modernization would undoubtedly increase receipts greatly but there was still no guarantee that a modernized line would be a profitable investment. £161 million was to be spent on the Liverpool-Manchester-Euston electrification scheme but "neither the Minister nor the Commission seem to have a clear view of what the rate of return on this large investment will be." The Select Committee are "astonished at the way in which the Commission have been able to set in motion great modernization schemes without the Departments comparing the economics of them with those of the possible alternative schemes." In saying this, they go on, "Your Committee are not merely being wise after the event, for their predecessors recommended a closer supervision by the executive over large capital expenditure by nationalized boards, more than two years ago. If that kind of thinking had percolated more quickly through Departments, the laxity of financial control in this case would have been checked earlier."

PROFITABILITY

The main uncertainties about the Modernization Plan arose from difficulties in assessing the profitability of separate aspects of railway activity. "Cost accountancy as a measure of efficiency . . . is a new development in railway accounting," and the Regions are moving towards "a form of accounts which will give them, as a unit, a true picture of their trading results."

Long-distance passenger trains cover operating costs and overheads, and freight business (especially "full-loads") also makes some contribution towards interest and other central charges. Steam-hauled commuter traffic is unprofitable and stopping trains are a major source of loss; even diesels have not always turned this loss into a profit.

Taking into account the costs of the present transitional stage of the railways, the losses on workshops, and the expense of maintaining unnecessarily

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large numbers of wagons, however, even these assumptions are questioned by the Committee. There was an operating loss of £42 million in 1959, before interest and central charges of the same amount, which could not be simply the loss on stopping trains. "The most important point is that the Commission cannot say with any precision where this £42 million is lost." The Commission "should have introduced at a much earlier date improvements in costing and measures to ascertain the profitability of Regions and services." "With modern methods and machinery, it seems to Your Committee unnecessary that decisions have had to be taken by the imprecise methods that the Commission have employed. This seems to be a serious shortcoming in management, the full effect of which it is impossible to gauge."

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The Select Committee have "no doubt that a large-scale British railway system can be profitable. The number of improvements in hand, and the number of points at which further improvements can be made, lend force to this." They find nothing wrong with the organization of British Railways except to suggest that "it cannot have helped to achieve efficiency in the higher direction of British Railways that there should have been no one authority whose only duty in the field of transport was to ensure an efficient system of railways."

The Committee consider that "in all fields where the railways are meeting effective competition there is no need for the (Transport) Tribunal." In fact fares and charges are mostly based on what the British Transport Commission think the public will pay, rather than the permitted maximum. "In real terms," the Committee point out, "both passenger fares and freight charges are on the average substantially lower than they were in 1938," and this is due in part to "the importance which the Commission have attached to public opinion and to social considerations."

It is largely because of the British Transport Commission's concern to run their railways as a public service, extending the traditions of the former companies, that they attract so much criticism from the Select Committee. "Your Committee consider that this confusion in judging between what is economically right and what is socially desirable has played an important part in leading to the situation in which the Commission now find themselves." The Commission are reminded of their concern for balancing the accounts; questions of public interest are for the Minister and Parliament to decide and to finance. The Commission should "be able to publish accounts for British Railways which would reflect only the matters within their control. If this were done there would be one important consequential advantage—the advantage that both the Commission and the Minister would become much more clearly accountable to Parliament for their separate railway responsibilities."

The Administration of Grants to Students

THE responsibility for providing financial assistance to students to enable them to pursue courses of advanced study in universities and other institutions of further education at present rests with 181 local education authorities and two Government Departments. In England and Wales, local education authorities make about 16,000 awards annually for university study and some 7,500 major awards for courses at further education establishments. The Ministry of Education awards about 3,800 state scholarships a year, most of which are for study at universities. In Scotland nearly all grants are made by the local education authorities : some 2,000 a year for study at universities and about 2,000 for courses at central institutions and similar bodies. The Scottish Education Department itself makes only some 25 awards annually, chiefly for study at English universities. These figures appear in the Report of the Anderson Committee presented to Parliament in May with the title *Grants to Students* (Cmnd. 1051). This Committee recommended several important changes in the existing system of administering student grants.

CRITICISMS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

The Committee received criticisms of some of the methods of local authorities in the making of awards. In England and Wales the main complaint was that sometimes a student who would have received assistance had he lived in one area was denied it because he lived in another, whilst in Scotland the major criticism centred on the variation in the size of grant awarded by different authorities. Ministerial regulations in England and Wales require that the award-making powers of local education authorities shall be exercised in accordance with schemes drawn up by the authorities and approved by the Minister. But these schemes are so drawn that authorities may decline to make awards in particular cases. The policy of all local education authorities is to apply their own separate test of an applicant's educational ability. Regulations issued under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1946, similarly leave local education authorities in Scotland with considerable discretion in the exercise of their award-making powers but, unlike their counterparts in England, they have been willing to take as the basis of making an award the offer of a place by a university or college to a student. The Committee also received evidence of varying interpretations among authorities of the rates of maintenance, other grants, and parental contribution which should be given to students.

The Committee felt that the evidence submitted to them "showed that the great majority of authorities have exercised their award-making powers wisely and with a proper degree of generosity" but went on to say that "the system cannot be considered satisfactory, however, so long as it is still possible for the intransigence, either witting or unwitting, of some local authorities to cause as much uneasiness as it still does in the student population, among parents and in the universities."

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The Committee believed that higher education is a national rather than a local issue and that award-making bodies should follow a policy which has been settled nationally. They should have a duty and not merely a power to assist students. Since the relevant sections of the present Acts do not apply only to students following the first degree and other comparable courses, the Committee were not prepared to define the terms in which this duty should be expressed. They were against laying down conditions in an Act of Parliament to be fulfilled before an award could be granted, since there was a need for flexibility in the rules to meet changing circumstances. The Committee recommended that Parliament should place a general duty on award-making bodies to give awards to all students taking first degree or comparable courses who were considered likely to benefit from this education, the Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland to be responsible for settling the detailed requirements such as the rates of grant and parental contributions.

The rules on these matters must be adjustable as circumstances change. Under the present system, consultation has taken place between those concerned. Periodic reviews of rates of grants have been undertaken in England and Wales by *ad hoc* working parties, consisting of representatives of the local authority associations and of officers of the Ministry, and their recommendations have then been considered by the Minister and the associations. The Committee thought that similar advice should be available to the Minister of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland, but that the present system of occasional *ad hoc* consultation was "not good enough" for this purpose. They therefore recommended the appointment of a Standing Advisory Committee to consider details of policy which came under review and to advise the Ministers on the decisions to be taken on them. The Committee had in mind a body of at the most some twelve members, chosen for their personal qualities rather than as representatives of a special district or calling, although it would include members with experience of universities, technical colleges, secondary schools and central and local administration. The same Committee would cover Scotland as well as England and Wales and, if necessary, separate sub-committees could be set up for each country for certain purposes. It is impossible for central policy decisions to cover every problem likely to confront the award-making authorities, and from time to time real difficulties in day-to-day administration are likely to emerge. For this reason the Anderson Committee recommended that the proposed new Standing Committee should also advise Ministers on such day-to-day problems as were referred to it.

PROPOSED NEW AWARD-MAKING BODIES

In regard to the bodies which should be responsible for the detailed work of actually making the awards, the Committee received two proposals for new forms of organization, both of which it rejected. One suggestion was that grants should be administered by the universities, colleges and other institutions of higher education, as agents of the Government. The Committee felt these bodies were not equipped to take on this responsibility.

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Moreover, since there were so many of them, the proposal would only have the effect of reducing by half the number of award-making bodies, and differences of treatment between areas might merely be replaced by differences between institutions. Larger questions involving the autonomy of the universities were also involved. But the primary reason given by the Committee for the rejection of this proposal was "that it (is) less likely to achieve a satisfactory solution than other possible methods."

The second suggestion was that all grants should be awarded by an *ad hoc* national grants board, financed by public funds and having such regional and local offices and sub-committees as were found necessary. The Committee thought this was partly met by their proposal for a body to advise on policy questions and on difficulties arising from the exercise of discretionary powers. They emphasized, however, that such a body should be advisory only and that the main policy decisions should be taken by Ministers responsible to Parliament. If it was felt desirable to centralize the detailed work of award-making bodies, the Committee asserted that "it would be better for it to be done by the Ministry of Education and the Scottish Education Department, than by an *ad hoc* body not accountable to Parliament and the public."

LOCAL AUTHORITIES AS AWARD-MAKING BODIES

Under the present system the great majority of grants to students are awarded and administered by local authorities. This occupies a considerable amount of time of both members and officers, the latter in particular on such routine tasks as receiving applications, assessing parental contributions and students' grants, making payments and dealing with inquiries. Many officers are not solely engaged on this work, however, and the Committee believed that if the executive functions of awarding grants were transferred elsewhere, few of them would be released from local authority employment. This would raise the problem of assembling an entirely new staff. "The accumulated experience of the local authorities and the existence of their trained staff" said the Committee "provide strong reasons why the local authorities should continue to take a part in the grants system."

The Committee listed a number of other advantages in leaving local authorities to deal with assistance to students. Where an authority's area was relatively compact, a close contact could be established with the applicant seeking an award. A personal visit by the student to the office was possible, and if necessary, an interview could be conveniently arranged. The authority was also in a position to substantiate the accuracy of a parent's statement of income, if this also proved necessary. The Committee noted, however, that these advantages did not hold in the larger education areas. The smaller areas sometimes too presented problems, some parents being reluctant to provide details of their income for fear that this information would become known to acquaintances from whom they wished to withhold it.

The chief objection to local authorities having the whole executive function, however, was the difficulty of securing equivalent treatment for all students. Rigid central control could bring about uniformity, but could not secure

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fair treatment, the Committee observed. Moreover, as has been noted, they were anxious to preserve a flexible approach so that special factors affecting students could be taken into account. The Committee could see only one way of meeting this problem and that was to give students a right of appeal to the Minister of Education or the Secretary of State for Scotland against any discretionary decision taken by the local authority. Matters on which appeals might arise would include, for example, the refusal of an authority to make an award; the giving of an allowance to reside away from home or for a vacation course; the assessment of the parental contribution; or the treatment of a student's dependants. If the Minister found in favour of the appeal the authority would then be obliged to change its decision.

The Committee recognized that the establishment of an appeal procedure might be strongly objected to, on the grounds that it was contrary to a cardinal principle of educational administration, reinforced by the provisions of the Local Government Act, 1958, and the Local Government and Miscellaneous Financial Provisions (Scotland) Act, 1958, "that broad principles of policy are determined by Act of Parliament or statutory regulations, but that the local authorities are left with freedom to fill in the framework according to their judgement of the needs of the situation." It appeared to the Committee, however, that if authorities were to continue as award-making bodies, this seemed the only way to eliminate a much criticized feature.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AS AWARD-MAKING BODIES

The principal alternative to the present arrangements is to relieve the local authorities of some or all of their executive functions, and for the Ministry of Education and the Scottish Education Department to pay all grants to students. The Committee carefully considered this proposal. One important advantage would be a reduction of the award-making bodies from 181 to three, thereby enabling greater equality of treatment in comparable cases and flexibility of approach, combined with consistency, in special cases. It would also avoid the complicated system of central control which would seem to be necessary if local authorities continued to be award-making bodies. The Committee believed centralization would mean that work processes could be streamlined and much greater use made of mechanization. The difficulties which at present arise from disagreements between local authorities as to which of them should accept financial responsibility for awarding a grant to a particular student would also be stopped.

The Committee considered the main objection to this proposal would be the claim that it involved "an unwelcome amount of bureaucratic remote control," in particular, that discretionary functions would be more difficult to administer from London, Edinburgh and Cardiff than from a number of local centres. The answer to this might be, said the Committee, a system of local agents to take account of local and personal circumstances; local authorities might be asked to carry out certain functions, such as inquiries and interviews on behalf of Departments. The Committee thought it difficult to judge, however, how satisfactory a centralized system, with or without local agents, would be. If centralized administration were to be adopted,

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the awards for further education courses should remain a matter for local authorities, since they demand a high degree of local knowledge and judgement.

THE COMMITTEE'S CONCLUSIONS

Although the Committee were able to make positive recommendations as to the way considerations of policy should be determined, they felt less able to reach precise conclusions about how the more detailed functions of actually making awards and paying the grants should be handled. They envisaged three possible systems, all of which they believed could be made to operate satisfactorily, but none of which were entirely free from disadvantage. These they identified as follows :

- "(a) the entire responsibility for awards to the students with whom we are concerned might be assumed by the central education departments ;
- or (b) the central departments might be the award-making bodies, in the sense that they would make the final decisions about making awards to individuals and would pay the grants, but the local authorities would act as their agents in performing some functions which can best be carried out locally ;
- or (c) all awards might be made and paid by the local authorities, under rules drawn up by the two Ministers, but the local authorities' decisions on any matters not determined by the rules would have to be amended if the Ministers so directed after considering appeals by the students ; exceptionally, however, the central departments should make the awards to certain students, such as those whose parents are temporarily serving abroad, who cannot be regarded as the responsibility of any particular local authority."

The Committee concluded that there were many practical considerations affecting the choice between these possible courses. They urged that before reaching a decision on which course to follow, the Government should consult the universities, the local authority associations and other bodies. This they deemed important since these bodies, in giving evidence, were unaware of the range of recommendations the Committee would be making.

THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS

The Minister of Education was asked in the House of Commons on 28th July what action he proposed to take about the recommendations of the Anderson Committee Report. Sir David Eccles replied that consultations had taken place with the universities, local authorities and others concerned, but that these and the public reaction to the Report had shown a wide divergence of views on certain of the Committee's recommendations and the Government needed more time to consider them. Perhaps the most important point to emerge from his reply was the Minister's clear statement that "it is also our intention that the local authorities should continue to participate in the administration."

Parliamentary Control of Expenditure

DURING the 1959-60 session there was considerable discussion of methods of improving the procedure and the powers of the Commons in its control of expenditure. On 26th July 1960, the Home Secretary, Mr R. A. Butler, as Leader of the House of Commons, announced two main changes.

His proposals centred on an increase in the membership of the Select Committee on Estimates from thirty-six to forty-three members, in order that the Committee might set up an additional sub-committee. It was hoped that the Committee would then be able to undertake two further responsibilities in addition to its detailed examination of selected Estimates : first, to examine and report briefly upon the Spring Supplementary Estimates ; and secondly, to examine the principal variations between the Estimates before the House and those of the preceding year. The examination of the Spring Supplementary Estimates would form an urgent task for the Committee at the beginning of each session since the customary time between the presentation of these Estimates and their required passage by the Committee of Supply at the end of the financial year is only a matter of a few weeks. The Chairman of the Estimates Committee emphasized during the discussion of Mr Butler's proposals that unless the Committee could be given an assurance that the Supplementary Estimates would be in their hands before the House resumed in January, it would be impossible for them to report before the end of the financial year. The proposal that the Committee should review the variations between the Estimates before the House and those of the preceding year will not come into effect until 1961. There was insufficient time for the Committee to undertake this task before the House resumed in October this year, but it is hoped that the Committee will be able to provide material for a Report in October 1961.

Along with this increase in the powers of the Select Committee on Estimates went a proposal which will give the House a greater chance to debate the Committee's Reports more regularly. The Government is setting aside this session three further days for debating these Reports. One of these days will be in Government time ; one will be found by the Opposition out of their allotted Supply Days, and the third will take the place of the day upon which the Speaker is moved out of the Chair on Civil Estimates, which is in effect a private members' day on a subject decided by ballot. The Government consider that this sacrifice of private members' time will be balanced by the decision to continue the additional four half-days for private members which were introduced as an experiment in the last session.

INSTITUTE NEWS

Copenhagen Conference

THE Institute Conference at the University, Copenhagen, enabled some fifty members to study major aspects of public administration in Denmark. The party made a number of interesting visits, including one to the atomic research centre at Riso. At the Tuborg brewery and bottling factory there were ample facilities for the visiting administrators to sample the quality of the lager. The programme also allowed time to explore the colourful restaurants of the city and to enjoy the gaiety of the famous Tivoli Gardens.

The Conference included five first-class lectures and discussions in English, among them a session in which the Ombudsman, Dr Hurwitz, took part. The success of the Conference owed a great deal to the personal interest shown by Mr Erik Pers-Lassen, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and a leading member of the Danish Section of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. He and his colleagues did so much to make the Institute's members welcome and arranged a number of privileged occasions that will be remembered for many years. These included an invitation to supper with the Prime Minister, Mr Viggo Kampmann, at Christiansborg Castle, and a reception by the Chairman of the single-chamber Danish Parliament. Members were also delightfully received by the Chief Burgomaster at the impressive Town Hall and by the British Ambassador and Lady Montagu-Pollock in their Copenhagen residence.

Before members dispersed for individual holidays in Scandinavia, the Institute Dinner on the last night of the Conference gave Sir Charles Cunningham and Mr R. W. Bell an occasion to thank publicly Mr Lassen and the speakers for the care and interest they had taken to ensure the success of the Conference. It was in Copenhagen that the first overseas Conference of the Institute was held as far back as 1935 and everyone taking part this year will hope that they will not have to wait another generation for a return to Denmark.

Regional Group Activities

THE Nottingham and East Midlands Group held a very successful one-day Conference on "Relations of Public Authorities with the Public" at the University of Nottingham on 14th October. One hundred and fifty people were present, representing many differing bodies and authorities in the Region.

Over fifty delegates attended the one-day Conference arranged by the Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Group on "Paying the Public Servant" at the Queen's College, Oxford, on 29th September. The Group intends to hold a further one-day Conference on "Some Ideas on the Distribution of Power and Responsibility in a Large Organization" in January 1961. Proposals are also under way for a series of lectures to be

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given, under the aegis of the Institute, at the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell.

The 1960-61 lecture programme for the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Group is on the topical theme "Industrial Developments in the Forth Valley."

About Members

DR E. N. GLADDEN, a member of the Institute's Executive Council, is at present lecturing at the University in Monrovia, Liberia.

Dr F. M. G. Willson is now Professor of Government in the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. As Research Officer to an Institute Study Group, under the chairmanship of D. N. Chester, Dr Willson wrote *The Organization of British Central Government, 1914-56*. He has recently undertaken for the Institute a series of five case studies in British public administration. These will be published in Spring 1961.

BOOK REVIEWS

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Public Administration

By ANDRÉ MOLITOR. Unesco, 1959. Pp. 192. 14s.

THIS is one of the series "Teaching in the Social Sciences" which Unesco has been bringing out since 1950. The enterprise is one very typical of Unesco. Knowledge and techniques in sociology, economics, demography and the rest are to be pooled, with benefit primarily to the under-developed areas, but ultimately to everyone. It is an attractive programme, but one liable to run into difficulties; and not the least among these are the difficulties of demarcation of academic frontiers: this report on public administration follows two other separate ones on political science and on international relations. Another kind of difficulty arises from the very fact that a more or less uniform series is involved: a lot of material has to be sifted, but the report has to be fairly short. There has to be selection, and canons for selection are not easily determined.

The shape of the present report is as in previous ones—a number of chapters on the origins and development of the subject, trends, methods, research, &c.; then appendices giving "typical" curricula, and a list of the national reports. But the basis of this report is broader than those of previous ones in that Professor Molitor (who teaches in Louvain University) has drawn upon a wider range of material collected at Unesco's request by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences. The first step in preparing this extensive survey was a "detailed questionnaire." Unfortunately this is not reproduced; because it might have thrown light upon the ideas behind the report. As it is, Professor Molitor intrigues us by remarking of his correspondents that "The detailed nature of the questions put to them sometimes gave some grounds for surprise."

One can see, however, that Professor Molitor has clearly been concerned to take a wide view: he makes a distinction at

the beginning between the teaching of public administration (with which he is concerned) and training in administration (although I think he might have gone further than he does into the important difference between teaching students who have no administrative experience and teaching students who are already serving officers); he summarizes general trends well, and shows himself critical of the tendency towards giving the United States "a monopoly of influence in this sphere"; and he appreciates both the great diversity of needs as between different countries, and the general advantages of maintaining a considerable variety of approaches (although here again it might have been brought out more forcefully that the main immediate and urgent need of many areas is not so much teaching as training of the most elementary kind). On the other hand, he seems not entirely to throw off a preference for what, to British readers, is likely to appear a rationalist approach. He uses expressions such as "scientific research in the true sense of the term," discusses "disciplines" (and says that "Historical science has its own method"), seems to feel obliged at least to touch on the question whether there is just one administrative science or several; and now and then jolts the reader with such a statement as—"The extent of State intervention in national life varies according to the political theories by which the systems of government in the country concerned have been influenced."

Another trouble with this sort of report is, of course, that there is as yet no international standpoint from which it can be written. (Somewhat parallel difficulties arise when people write on "comparative government.") Allied with this, in both cases, goes a difficulty in assessing and handling, with equal success in all cases, all the material from all the sources

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To the British reader the material that Professor Molitor presents from other countries may at first seem impressive; but he is likely to become less certain about this when he reads the sections of the report that deal with his own country, and finds them governed by the notion that "the development of the administrative sciences in Great Britain has been somewhat slow and belated." Although Professor Molitor appreciates the importance of "the close connection in Great Britain between political science and public administration," he writes at times as if he could discern the teaching of public administration only where a very specific label was in use. No doubt, as he says, we have just "one university that awards a degree in public administration." I think I am right in saying that until two years ago we had no universities at all that offered a first degree in political science. Statements like these need a lot of qualification before their significance can be properly understood. It is not

clear whether Professor Molitor understands the significance of all his own statements about the teaching of public administration in this country; but it seems certain that those of his readers who rely on him for an appreciation of what we have to offer will be sadly misled. They will underestimate the universities: on the other hand (and with all respect to that institution) they will not realize that the Administrative Staff College at Henley has been given a quite disproportionate amount of space.

On the whole, however, Professor Molitor has probably discharged a very difficult assignment about as well as anyone could be expected to. If the discerning reader finishes by feeling that he would rather have the raw material on which the report has been based than the report itself, it is, I think, the assignment, and not the reporter, that should be blamed.

WILFRID HARRISON

Haldane of Cloan, His Life and Times 1856-1928

By DUDLEY SOMMER. George Allen & Unwin, 1960. Pp. 448. 42s.

Mr DUDLEY SOMMER's beautifully produced and illustrated life of Lord Haldane has obviously been long in the making and the author has obviously enjoyed writing it. Although Mr Sommer has had the full co-operation of the Haldane family and access to Haldane's surviving friends, the book does not appear to add much detailed information to that contained in Haldane's own autobiography and Sir Frederick Maurice's life. It would have been easier to check this statement had the author made a more professional use of footnotes. Furthermore, his leisurely and at times reminiscent manner leads the author to forget the fact that for most of his readers the events of Haldane's time are something already in a remote past and that the controversies of World War I are as dead and buried as those of the Walcheren Expedition. However, this style has its value as well as its charm, and we should be grateful

for the fact that we get not only a rounded portrait of Haldane but also admirable sketches of many of his contemporaries.

A picture emerges of Haldane himself as of a man more devoted to causes than to parties and therefore acquiring the reputation for devious courses in pursuit of his aims. Indeed, Mr Sommer does not altogether acquit him of a certain love of mystery for its own sake. On the other hand, Mr Sommer makes it clear in the light of this why Haldane should have found so little difficulty in making his transition into the Labour Party in the immediate post-war years.

Much of the interest of Haldane's life lies for Mr Sommer in the juxtaposition of political and personal relationships, and he is much concerned with the way in which Asquith and Grey allowed themselves to be bullied into dropping their old friend Haldane from the Government

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on charges of alleged pro-Germanism, whose demonstrated absurdity makes one feel that some British indignation about "McCarthyism" arose from very short memories. Mr Sommer dwells at some length upon Haldane's philosophical training and his own contributions to philosophy, and upon his work at the bar and on the bench, but although he emphasizes Haldane's persistent interest in the machinery of government—one of whose legacies is our Institute—he does not examine in detail Haldane's great record as an administrator at the War Office. He may perhaps be excused for this on the ground that the fifty years rule makes it still impossible to document this aspect of Haldane's life with the necessary detail.

There is perhaps less excuse for saying nothing much about the genesis of Haldane's famous Report and leaving an assessment of its significance to rest on references to Mr Charles Wilson's Memorial Lecture.

One's impression is that statesmen whose genius lies, as Haldane's did, in the management of public affairs and not in the manipulation of opinion will always present a harder task for the biographer than their more flamboyant colleagues. Nevertheless, both aspects of politics require study, and Mr Sommer's book should command a wide and appreciative audience.

MAX BELOFF

Brisbane 1859-1959

By GORDON GREENWOOD and JOHN LAVERTY. Oswald L. Ziegler Publications Pty. Ltd., Sydney, for the Brisbane City Council. Pp. 695. £7.

ONE of the most difficult tasks is to write the history of a large and rapidly developing municipality. So much can happen in a 100 years and there are so many facets to local government that the authors are faced with great problems of selection and presentation. Within the limits of 700 pages (less than seven for each year having regard to maps, diagrams, &c.), Professor Greenwood and his collaborator have done a very good job. We are shown the origins of the city in the 1820s as a penal settlement, its rapid growth "as a nucleus for a future society of free men" leading to it becoming a municipality in 1859; the development of the various services, the increasing complexity of the local government units in the metropolitan areas and the establishment of the Greater Brisbane Council in 1925.

Much of what we are told is common to the development of local government in Britain and other countries of the Commonwealth. Sometimes Brisbane is ahead of the rest in a particular service, at other times behind. Most of the emphasis is on "the development of the environmental and public utility services" and perhaps more could have been made

of the relations between these and developments in the wealth, population and economic growth of the area. Sufficient is said, however, to show how much the city owes to its elected representatives and officials; it is an impressive record. One would have welcomed a clearer picture of those small number of elected aldermen who, notwithstanding the other claims on their time, did so much to develop the communal services of their city. If we have a criticism of the book it is that insufficient attention is given to the area as a social and political entity: was there keen competition to be elected, what role did the citizens play, and so on?

Those who only know local government as practised in England and Wales will find a number of things to interest them, quite apart from the general story of the growth of a city. Brisbane has always had a small council (now twenty aldermen and a mayor, all directly elected—why are there the photographs of twenty-two aldermen on pages 470-1?). The elected mayor is clearly a leader, not a titled office holder, and one speaks of the Greene or the Jones administration. Then there are the powers of the council

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to "do any act not otherwise unlawful which may be necessary to the proper exercise and performance of its powers and duties under this Act or under any other Act conferring powers or imposing duties on the Council." There is also the rating of the unimproved value of land, and the system of compulsory voting. The English reader would like

to know more about how these things work and how they are regarded. But this history was written presumably for the Australian, not the English reader. Both, however, will find much to interest them in a well produced and well presented history commissioned by the City Council.

D. N. CHESTER

Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis

By WALLACE S. SAYRE and HERBERT KAUFMAN. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1960. Pp. xviii+815. \$8.50.

THE products of American research studies tend to follow a pattern of monumental, but horizontal reporting. Just as American speech runs on a flat plane of pitch, so American reporting follows a flat plane of style. All is there, every point, none missing, and each arranged under its appropriate heading of classification. But under the influence of its steady, unrelieved flow one is apt to long for some break which would give a sense of contour, of light and shade, whether by a more obvious selection and rejection from the total of available material or by some trick of compensating emphasis and restraint.

At the same time, together with this dead-pan presentation, there is a tendency to be hard-boiled, to cut away the formal coverings and come to grips with the realities of life which lie beneath them, and to show them more starkly than is usual or, perhaps, necessary.

The British reader needs to start this book by turning to Appendix C in which is reprinted a publication of the American Institute of Public Administration entitled "Governmental Organization in the City of New York." This gives a clear exposition in small compass of the constitution, powers and duties of the bodies which govern New York City. This formal structure of local government is only of minor interest to the authors, who are concerned, as the title of the book is intended to make clear, with the

process of governing rather than the machinery for government—with what makes the machine tick over—or grind along—rather than with the machine itself.

This is, of course, people, and the number of people engaged in the process in one way or another is enormous. But they are not there simply for their health, as one might say; but for what they can get out of it. And the prizes and rewards for which they struggle are rich and varied. But this is no jungle war, whatever it may have been in the past: the analogy nowadays is with sport. There are rules in accordance with which the game is played, though, of course, they are so framed as sometimes to favour one competitor rather than another. It is perhaps convenient, therefore, that they should not be immutable.

One must not, however, regard all the prizes as glittering ones in any mercenary sense nor all the contestants as inspired by evil, or even low motives. There are some illegal racketeers who could profit by influencing the way in which some parts of the machinery of government work, but they are a very minor element and so justify little consideration in a serious and objective study. No, the prizes and rewards are legitimate enough as are the groups of those striving for them. Thus not only the obvious politicians—the party leaders, the elected and appointed office holders in the many

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courts, councils, departments, agencies, boards, commissions, bureaux and authorities which govern the City and its five constituent Boroughs—but also the bureaucracies—the civil servants employed in them—non-governmental groups, including civic societies of many forms and objects, the press and other forms of “mass communication media,” as well as the agents of the State and Federal Governments engaged in the City, form groups all seeking the rewards of political action. For some these rewards are impersonal, such as the achievement of ideals of service or the adoption of policies as ends in themselves; for others they may be personal but not economic, such as prestige or the position and satisfaction flowing from office; for others again the stakes for which they play may be more tangible, such as the salaries they will earn or the money to be made by selling goods or services to the City or the money to be saved by securing alterations in the system of local taxation. But no group is monolithic, no group has unmixed aims. For example, the organized bureaucracies in the City's service are at times in competition with each other and seek to improve the status, the prestige, the autonomy of their membership and not only their pay and conditions of service.

All this hurly-burly of competing interests goes to make the politics of the City, and the organization of the machinery of government gives wide scope for political action. The theory of the separation of powers, enshrined in the Federal Constitution, is reflected in the City's charter, so that the City Council is therein defined as “the local legislative body of the City,” while the Mayor is “the chief executive of the City” and the judiciary is elected. But the other constitutional practice of checks and balances also appears. Real power does not lie in the City Council's twenty-five members—rather the Board of Estimate and more especially the Mayor have better claims to be effective centres of power—and the City supports a complex set of organs which seem designed largely as brakes on each other's action, or which have been established to avoid limitations on the powers of the older agencies, or which have been created in the futile hope that they would take the subject with which they deal “out of politics.”

(Incidentally one cannot but wonder at the resilience of the system which has successfully survived so many and frequent changes in its structure.) A total of something like seventy-five City officials are popularly elected every alternate year, while, if judicial, State and Federal offices are included, the total exceeds 150. Moreover the Mayor has the power of appointment of nearly 400 officials who are not engaged on the civil service terms of the bureaucrats.

Apart from analysing the rules by which the play is controlled—and incidentally explaining the mystery to British minds of the “Primaries”—the authors take the competitors in each group and consider what prizes and rewards they seek, what opportunities they have for success, what strategy and tactics they use. This is supported by a mass of statistics and charts and by a complex bibliography.

The authors, who are respectively Professor of Public Administration at Columbia and Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale, sum up their study. It shows the multiplicity of centres from which decisions flow, and, though most decisions are only reached as the product of accommodation between different groups of contestants, there is no effective co-ordination of them. In spite of the defects which flow from these untidy characteristics, the authors claim that they produce qualities of openness and opportunity which prevent the City government from falling into the hands of any one group or interest and ensure effective and democratic administration.

What interest, it may be asked, can such a detailed and lengthy study of the political pulls and pressures of New York City have for the British reader? Apart from the unworthy temptation to try to spot local parallels, a good deal of the matter, it must be confessed, is too detailed save for one with a specialist interest. But for those who wish to study what local government means in one of the largest metropolitan areas, the analysis of the scope of the City organs and their relations with each other—which is necessary though incidental to the political issues with which the authors are mainly concerned—is a lively stimulus to thought on the bases of political action.

W. O. HART

Portrait of Social Work: A Study of Social Services in a Northern Town:

By BARBARA N. RODGERS and JULIA DIXON. Oxford University Press for Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, 1960. Pp. 226. 25s.

Of all the fields of human activity engaged in by departments of the central government, local authorities and even voluntary organizations, those which are concerned with social work appear to be the least well defined and certainly the most misunderstood. Most of us have some idea of the functions, responsibilities and training of civil servants, local government officers, school teachers, policemen and the like, and though we may take no more than a nominal interest in central or local government we are prepared to accept (perhaps too readily) that such people have a recognized part to play in our society. On the other hand most of us know very little about the rapidly increasing numbers who today are engaged in social work, and I would doubt whether even those who take a keen interest in civic affairs realize the extent to which social work has become an established function of statutory and voluntary bodies. This survey, by Mrs Rodgers and Miss Dixon, of "all the social work carried on in a small county borough" is therefore extremely valuable in that it shows clearly who the social workers are, what they conceive their functions to be and how social work has become more complex and specialized in recent years.

The study begins with an attempt to answer the fundamental question, "Who is, or who is not, a social worker? Or rather whose job involves social work and how much?" And in my view the authors successfully provide the answer so that thereafter we are quite certain of the categories of worker and of services which have been studied by means of interviews, questionnaires and personal observation. Equally valuable is the emphasis which they place on the relationship between social work and administration and one would hope that administrators will take to heart the firm view expressed that social work is not an additional frill, but "an integral part of the effective administration of any personal social service." Unfortunately this belief is not fully substantiated in the detailed

local study. Nevertheless, the two introductory chapters on "Staffing the Social Services" and "The Development of Social Work" ought to be read carefully because they provide succinctly the historical background and the perspective for the detailed study which follows.

The aim of the local study was to examine all the social work carried on in the borough and one must congratulate Mrs Rodgers and Miss Dixon for at last breaking away from what seems to be the confirmed practice of government committees, which have on numerous occasions examined this or that particular kind of social work, but never social work as a whole. Some of us have for years past pleaded for a full-scale examination of the whole field of social services and of social work, but no Government has been prepared to sanction such an inquiry and we must therefore be grateful for this necessarily limited attempt to study social work as a whole in one part of the country.

To anyone who is not familiar with the range and variety of social work and of social workers in even a small county borough the survey of local government services, services provided by central government departments, and voluntary organizations should prove interesting. On the other hand the knowledgeable may find the survey disappointing because it is essentially descriptive and in many ways disjointed. The authors have, as it were, presented us with a series of snapshots which looked at together form the whole, but they are nevertheless snapshots and not a moving film. Can it be that the authors were so concerned to ensure objectivity that they have deliberately refrained from making even the slightest comments of their own lest they be accused of making subjective judgements?

It could be argued that this direct reporting of the field work is justified because comments follow in the succeeding chapters, but having read the book through to the end I still feel that they have not been bold enough in their analysis

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and their criticisms. One cannot avoid the feeling that both the authors are so convinced of the virtues and the value of modern professional social work that they never question whether any particular form is really necessary. For example, when reading about the way in which an almoner was finally appointed to the hospitals in the area the sceptical reader might justifiably wonder whether this appointment and the others which followed were really necessary, and from the cases illustrating their functions whether these could not in any case have been tackled by some other social workers. Questions of this kind, however, seem to have been avoided and perhaps the authors could argue that fundamental questions of this nature were no concern of theirs because they were primarily concerned with presenting a portrait of what is and not of what ought to be.

Mrs Rodgers and Miss Dixon do, however, draw conclusions from their study and present recommendations. Of their three major recommendations it is the third, concerned with the need for far more thought to be given to the organization of social work and to where and how social workers are employed in the social services, which is the most fundamental and controversial. Their own thoughts on this topic are interesting, but are not, in my view, justified by their own research, nor do they go deeply enough into the problems themselves. Nevertheless they open up a profitable field of discussion and it is to be hoped that this pioneering study will be widely read, especially by those who are interested in and concerned with problems of public administration.

D. C. MARSH

Local Government Areas

By J. HERWALD MORRIS. Shaw & Sons, 1960. Pp. xxi+264. 37s. 6d.

THE passing of important legislation produces legal works of two classes. First, when the statute has recently become law, there is the handbook which is often little more than the Act in large type with some blank pages for the readers' notes. Second, at the other end of the scale is the comprehensive work which relates the new legislation to its predecessors and presents a detailed analysis of a mass of case-law.

The Local Government Act, 1958, has not yet had time to produce its "case-law," using that term in a broad sense, but the book under review does try to be more than merely a reproduction of the Act in large print. Indeed, oddly enough, the continuous text of the relevant Parts and Schedules of the Act are not given in it. It sets out, rather, to be a manual of procedure for the local government officer (or, less probably, the councillor) who has to face the activities of the Local Government Commissions for England and Wales, the county councils in their

reviews, and the Minister of Housing and Local Government—all trying to render local government more effective and convenient.

The book accordingly seeks to give, subject by subject, a connected narrative of procedure built up from the Acts, regulations and the documents issued to local authorities by the Commissions. The author is, of course, hampered by the fact that, when he wrote, the Commissions had begun only the preliminary stages of their first review areas. No doubt, if the book goes into subsequent editions, it will be possible to draw on experience of the statutory conferences, local inquiries and subsequent stages to inform those yet to participate in these activities what they must expect.

One must doubt, however, whether the book really lives up to the claim of the publishers that "the general reader will find in the book all the background information which is required if a proper assessment is to be made of the suggested

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solutions to the problems of local government reorganization." The author makes a gallant attempt to distil clear guidance on policy out of the "nine points" in the Regulations, but some of his interpretations are a little forced and others self-evident. The historical introduction is very sketchy. When, in the chapter on county districts, the author discusses the minimum size for a district by reference to the staff required, he hardly mentions the need for specialization of staff in current conditions, or the analogous requirements for the employment of specialized plant or equipment. Nor does he suggest that similar arguments might apply at the county and county borough

level, as well as that of the county district.

As a manual of procedure, however, the book should prove useful to the local government officer. And Appendix I has a wider interest for it gives biographical notes on the varied careers of the members of the Local Government Commissions. From these, the reader may assess the reliability of the description of the Commissioners (by persons who dislike their proposals) as, to quote some choicer epithets, "bureaucratic theorists," "boundary fiddlers," "map-muddlers" and "Whitehall baboons."

V. D. LIPMAN

Advisory Committees in British Government

A PEP Report. George Allen & Unwin, 1960. Pp. 228. 25s.

THE first part of this Report contains a general discussion of standing advisory committees, of which there are now just under 500. Three types are distinguished—consultative, expert and those which are set up for independent administration. The latter category is the smallest, and since committees of this type really have executive as well as advisory functions the Report rightly gives less attention to them than to the others. About 70 per cent. of all advisory committees are of the expert kind, whilst the consultative committees are to be found mainly in the field of industrial relations and economic policy. This distinction between expert and consultative is recognized to be rather artificial—many people on expert committees are certainly laymen and there are plenty of experts on consultative bodies. The problems of composition and methods of work are examined, and there is an assessment of the functions and influence of advisory committees. The second part of the Report describes fairly briefly the membership and work of fifteen major committees, provides an interesting account of advisory committees in Scotland and for Wales, and concludes with a short assessment of the influence over a few years of a couple of advisory councils.

The Report rightly sees the widening of the functions of the central government as the principal cause of the proliferation of advisory committees. The Government has to deal with more and more matters upon which the Civil Service has little information, and when it is impracticable to set up a special division for obtaining it, an advisory committee is often the answer. Or there are advantages, especially for securing acceptance of policies, in associating with the government services, people and organizations closely concerned with the problems in question. So we are led to the view that advisory committees are characteristically methods of communicating information and expert advice to ministers and departments, and of facilitating the search for rational and acceptable solutions.

It is in this context that the Report puts forward rather tentatively the conclusion that as these committees constitute a method of tackling outside the party political atmosphere problems which can remain unaffected by partisan feelings, they offer us, "a glimpse of a counter-system to popular democracy as a method of policy-making." This contrast can, however, be misleading. Except perhaps in small communities popular democracy

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can never be a means of policy-making : it is a method of choosing men to rule. If, however, popular democracy is to be more than the holding of periodical plebiscites we need ways of associating people with the conduct of government. Advisory committees, regardless of criticism of plurality and restricted membership, do contribute to this end, and to that extent can be regarded as a means of giving some reality to "popular democracy" rather than as an alternative system.

On the composition of committees the Report has some interesting comments on pluralism and on restriction to the "inner circle." It is apparent that the range of choice is often very limited and that pluralism is not so glaring a scandal as some have suggested. Nevertheless, as is also borne out by the recent PEP pamphlet, *Government by Appointment*, there is room for greater efforts to avoid appointing the same people to two or more committees, and the field of choice could be widened. Neither of these problems can be easily solved : the contacts of ministers and civil servants are necessarily limited, there is understandably a preference for "known quantities," and, in spite of the strong tradition of voluntary service here, there are by no means as many people qualified to sit on committees as critics imagine.

There are two matters which might have been brought out more clearly in the

Report. One is that many advisory committees, particularly those with some executive functions, owe their existence in part to our system of local government. Where there is a service with national rates of pay but administered and financed locally, it is usually necessary to bring the interested parties together again, and an advisory committee is a way of doing this. (The Central Fire Brigades Advisory Council is an example of this.) Secondly, there is the question whether the influence of an expert advisory committee is not directly related to the technical character of the subjects with which it deals. The Report does suggest that on balance scientific committees probably have the most decisive influence. This seems to be a reasonable assumption, but it would require a closer examination both of various scientific and technical committees, and of those dealing with more general matters (e.g. housing, education or the health service as a whole) if this is to be substantiated in any detail. However, a detailed study of this kind presents many practical difficulties, and in any event was plainly impossible within the context of a Report of this kind. Perhaps someone will one day inquire more closely into this point. Meanwhile this survey offers a valuable introduction to the subject.

N. JOHNSON

Economic and Financial Aspects of Social Security : An International Survey

By J. HENRY RICHARDSON. George Allen & Unwin, 1960. Pp. 270. 30s.

THIS survey does not attempt to rival the recent brilliant synoptic and analytical survey by Mr Michael Kayser in *International Social Science Journal* (current issue) of the determinants of social expenditure, and the role of social outlays in the economy. It is, rather, a more institutional study of social security in a number of countries and as such it could be useful. In particular, even this book will shatter the illusions of those (if there

be any left) who believe Britain to be the exemplar of the Welfare State, groaning beneath an unduly heavy burden of redistributive expenditure for social purposes. Britain is, in fact, well behind its European neighbours ; the standards of the elderly poor are among the worst in the industrialized world.

Professor Richardson first points out that no country has a complete social security system ; each has gaps, though

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they differ—in the United States health, because of the power of the medical profession ; he could say that in the U.K. it is old age, possibly because of the power of the insurance companies. He then compares the arrangements made in each country with its national income and other social characteristics. He finds as a general principle that as the national income rises, social security payments should fall as a proportion of the total because people are more able to look after their own misfortunes.

This is unfortunately not true. Social security, as Professor Richardson points out, is an essential part of the fabric of modern industrial society and arises from the fact that industrial wages are not related to social needs (especially family needs), and from the changes in individual circumstance that economic progress entails. Consequently demographic trends and job turnover (for example) are both more relevant to social expenditure than national income. It is also true that the political and social characteristics of different countries profoundly modify their arrangements for income maintenance. Thus in the U.S. social benefits are proportional to earnings ; in the U.K. they are mainly flat-rate. The reasons for this difference are exceedingly complex ; but Professor Richardson is surely incorrect in saying that it is because the range of incomes is wider in North America than the U.K. : comparative statistics suggest the reverse is the case.

The study of contribution methods and forms of payment is a curious mixture of statement and exhortation. We are told, for instance, that "benefits should be provided so far as practicable from revenues to which the beneficiaries pay substantial amounts." Why? A reference forward suggests that the argument is (a) moral (which omits any kind of defence of the existing pattern of earnings) and (b) relates to an argument that taxes will otherwise fall heavily on the hard-working and hinder productivity. As a matter of fact, German and French payments unrelated to contributions are exceptionally heavy ; the rate of growth of these two economies is the admiration of the world and greatly in excess of that of the U.K. with its very regressive system of contribution-financed social insurance. There is no close relation between low taxes,

personal effort and national income growth, unfortunate though this may be for moralists.

A number of egregious errors mark the detailed chapters. The most notable is that the discussion of policies for old age assumes a marked rise in life-expectancy at sixty-five ; the evidence is to the contrary. The economics is marred, too, by easy assumptions, such as that price changes adverse to those in receipt of fixed incomes are dangerous to economic growth.

Perhaps the major weakness of the book is shown in the central chapter on the proportion of social security payments to national income. This is a statistician's nightmare. No table is comparable with another. Definitions differ, so that public assistance is included in one and excluded in another ; transfer payments are compared with G.N.P. (which excludes them) when they should be compared with disposable personal incomes. In fact, apart from neglecting the necessary work of ensuring comparability of definition, none of the significant correlations are made by Professor Richardson. For example, a comparison of social outlays to dependency ratios, to incomes, to budgetary resources, to the degree of urbanization, and so on, all essential, is not made.

Thus, analytically, the book is not to be compared, for example, with Edding's *Internationale Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Ausgaben für Schuben* (Kiel, 1958) ; and the mixture of "is" and "ought" is uneasy. The illustrations drawn from Canada and other less-familiar sources will be a healthy relief to the intense parochialism of British discussions. But their relevance to policy questions is hard to discern because of the lack of an argument. A discussion of the finance of unemployment benefit is purposeless except in the context of what policy is to be adopted towards variations in employment. In another context Professor Richardson shows that from an economic point of view he is aware that public expenditure in this connection is to be judged by its effect on employment ; yet the discussion of unemployment benefit is related far more to the problem of maintaining "solvency" of the fund—despite Professor Richardson's adoption of the pay-as-you-go principle earlier.

Many of his *obiter dicta* deserve support.

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Pay-as-you-go is probably the right policy to adopt. Constructive approaches to geriatric problems and a flexible retiring age, with pensions proportional to earnings, are desirable. But can we prove it? Surely it needs detailed argument supported by actual financial and economic instances.

This review is, perhaps, unduly critical. But decisions affecting 10 per cent. of the

G.N.P., and affecting the happiness of millions, deserve to be supported by a strong basis of theory and research. Nevertheless, comparing different systems can suggest hints for changes, and throw light on national idiosyncrasies.

JOHN VAIZEY

The Corporation in Modern Society

Edited with an Introduction by EDWARD S. MASON. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. xv+335. 54s.

THERE are about 4½ million business enterprises in the United States. All but 13 per cent. of them are unincorporated, and of these 95 per cent. have less than twenty employees. These facts are important, for we are apt to forget that the land of big business is also the home of small-scale free competitive enterprise. Why then all the fuss about the big corporation? Since Berle and Means published their pioneering study, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, nearly thirty years ago, millions of words have been written about American big business—its organization, function, ideology, place in society, and impact on the executive, the employee, and the community. *The Corporation in Modern Society* is the latest contribution to a long line of serious studies. The answer, of course, is that, untypical though it is, the big business corporation is in one very real sense the "representative" economic institution, the dominant force in American economic life. Large corporations are not of equal importance in all sectors of the economy, but in manufacturing industry—in the productive process itself—130 corporations account for half the total output. Taking the economy as a whole, 440 large corporations employ 28 per cent. of the working population, 200 corporations own 40 per cent. of the total assets. In manufacturing industry there are some 260,000 firms, employing just over 17

million people; of these firms, 360 employ 40 per cent. of the labour force.

There is no doubt, then, about the importance of the subject, nor about its absorbing interest for British readers, since the pattern in Britain is remarkably similar—the 500 largest British companies (as measured by net assets) are said to account for about half the total profits earned by private industry, to employ about one-third of the labour force, and to own nearly half the accumulated capital investment. (This is written as General Electric and English Electric—neither exactly an economic minnow—announce a new merger that will give them combined assets of some £177 million.)

Professor Mason has assembled an impressive team—lawyers, economists, political scientists, professors of business administration, and a sociologist—to reflect about the mass of documentary material now available. The book contains two comparative studies: one on British experience by Mr Anthony Crosland (which is, in effect, a résumé of part of his book, *The Future of Socialism*), and one on industry in the U.S.S.R. (in many ways the most valuable essay in the book) by Professor Gerschenkron, of Harvard. What emerges most clearly, however, is how much remains to be discovered, in spite of the vast output. "Everyone talks about the corporation," says Professor Mason, "but, in the words of Mark

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Twain, no one does anything about it." Perhaps one of the reasons for this (though Professor Mason does not mention it) is that no one properly understands yet what it is we are dealing with. There are conflicting facts and opinions about the nature of the beast, its power, place in society, values, and potentialities for good and evil. Whose testimony are we to believe: that of Mr Wright Mills, for example, or Mr Peter Drucker's eulogies?

Nowhere is this conflict of evidence more clearly to be seen than in the debate about Organization Man. According to the sociologist in the team, Professor Lloyd Warner, the popular stereotype is quite false. Organization Man is not the creature depicted in "the popular journals of the intelligentsia and in other superficial analyses." He is no man in a grey flannel suit, outwardly calm, but full of inner tensions as he gazes up at the lighted windows of the executive suite or strains his ears down the rubber-floored corridors to catch the tinkle of rimless glasses on the board room table. No indeed; he is "autonomous" (in Piaget's terms); he has "internalized the group's rules and values sufficiently to act not slavishly as their creature but creatively as an individual." His "most dominant psychic characteristic" is a feeling that he is on his own and capable of independent action; he has "left home, not only in fact, but also in spirit." In Professor Warner's analysis the loathsome mask has fallen. "The man remains Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man Equal, unclassed. . . Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king Over himself; just, gentle, wise: but man Passionless." There will be some who find this splendid Godwinian creature as unconvincing as the more familiar picture painted by Mr William Whyte. Perhaps both creatures are bogus, a double Piltdown forgery?

Again, according to Professor Warner, American big business is becoming more, not less "democratic." "The top of the highly esteemed and powerful hierarchy of corporate enterprise has become increasingly a pinnacle to which men of lowly origins can realistically aspire." It is a pity that he rests this assertion on the slenderest statistical evidence, the more so since it is clearly at variance with British experience if recent studies are to

be taken seriously (even though these can scarcely be said to bear out the *New Left Review* group's contention that industry since the war has replaced the Empire as the outdoor relief department of the English upper classes). Not that Warner's picture is wholly reassuring. The modern corporation executive is twice as likely to have been to college than his predecessor thirty years ago; but the colleges he attends are those "least able financially and culturally to perform the important task" of training him; the recruiters of future business leaders "spend less time waiting outside the doors of departments of philosophy than on the steps of business administration colleges" (cp. the recent utterance of a "recruiter" from Shell: "We like to take boys who have learnt Greek; we find they sell more oil"); and it seems to be a good idea still to marry the boss's daughter, the chances of which are necessarily increased the farther away one proceeds from grade school ("Higher education tends to increase the number of marriages to mates of higher levels"). What then are the business bureaucracies up to? How do they go about selecting themselves, and who gets selected? One suspects that there is more than a modicum of truth in Professor Mason's wry remark that "this is one of those situations in which those who know don't tell and those who tell don't know."

But enough of Professor Warner. This is an important book which deserves to be taken seriously. If it provides no conclusive data, no compelling prescriptions, it asks a lot of pertinent questions. In the first place, the direction of these great economic enterprises is in the hands of relatively few men. What they decide (or fail to decide) is of enormous importance. How much power have they got? To whom are (ought) they to be responsible? How can this responsibility be enforced? Secondly, we live, not in the economist's paradise of perfect competition where no problem of power arises, but in a wicked world of oligopoly, monopsony (or is it oligopsony?), backward and forward integration. What sort of ransom are we paying to the big combines and the big unions? How hard are they being squeezed, the little men and the middle-sized men, who rely, as buyers, suppliers, sub-contractors, on the patronage of the big firm for their daily

bread? What, if anything, should (can) we do about the functionless shareholder, the disappearing capitalist? What has happened to the institution of private property? The implications of this shift, the separation of the control of the corporation from the ownership of capital, have even yet to be fully explored. As Professor Mason puts it in one of his many acute asides:

"The eighteenth-century philosophers considered property ownership as essential to the full development of personality, to the maintenance of individual freedom from the encroachment of those power systems represented by Church and State, and to the formation of a citizenry capable of self-government. Corporate ownership is not usually defended in those terms today."

In what terms can it be defended? Thirdly, are the values of corporate life compatible with the values of the wider community in which the corporations take their place? (Professor Earl Latham looks at the corporation as a system of government and finds power distributed and used within the American corporation "in ways that substantially violate the prevailing values of American democracy.") Finally, what is the relation of the big corporation to the State machines and to public policy? What is the real nature

of "the mixed economy"? (as Mason says, "government ownership and regulation are important ingredients," but they are only part of the story, "they inadequately characterize the 'mixture' of public and private that the rise of the large corporation has produced"). The big corporation inescapably pursues public policies, foreign and domestic; its organization, techniques, and *mores* are very similar (as Mr Crosland testifies) to those of the public corporation; the big private corporation is used increasingly by governments to perform public functions and to pursue policies that are held to be "in the public interest." How can we ensure that what is good for Mr Wilson is good for America, what is good for Lord Chandos is good for Britain?

"The rise of the large corporation," says Professor Mason, "(has) confronted us with a long series of questions concerning rights and duties, privileges and immunities, responsibility and authority, that political and legal philosophy have not yet assimilated." He has done great service in bringing together a powerful and able team to put these questions so incisively and clearly. The book is a stimulus to thought about some of the more pressing questions bordering on politics, law, economics, and sociology.

J. W. GROVE

In-Service Training and Reduced Work Loads: Experiments in a State Department of Welfare.

By EDWIN J. THOMAS and DONNA L. MCLEOD. In collaboration with Pauline Bushey and Lydia F. Hylton. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1960. Pp. 130. \$2.50.

THE research project recorded in this book was the outcome of a development in the Aid to Dependent Children Programme, which is part of the Social Security Act of the State of Michigan. This Act, passed in 1935, was primarily concerned with periodic cash payments to those eligible for assistance and the emphasis was on eligibility rather than on the promotion of the welfare of the recipient, although "non-financial" services directed towards family rehabilitation have been provided to some small extent in the past. In 1956, however, amendments to the Social Security Act brought about a shift

in this emphasis and by them the Michigan State Department of Social Welfare was given a mandate "to help maintain and strengthen family life and to help such parents or relatives who care for dependent children to attain the maximum of self-support and personal independence consistent with the maintenance of continuing parental care and protection. . . ."

Through this development the Department was faced with an increasing need for skilled caseworkers, but as only about 20 per cent. of the public assistance workers had been formally trained for their jobs and as this proportion seemed unlikely

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to change in the foreseeable future it was probable that more systematic and comprehensive in-service training could be anticipated to improve the casework technique of the untrained workers.

Previous experiments had already shown that reduced work loads improve accuracy and efficiency in "eligibility determination," but the effect of reduced work loads on the quality of the non-financial services had not been investigated. Accordingly the Michigan State Department of Social Welfare, in close collaboration with a research team from the University of Michigan School of Social Work, set out to establish by controlled experiments whether :

(a) the provision of in-service training, and
(b) a reduction in the usual work loads
would in fact lead to a raising of the standard of casework in the non-financial services required by the A.D.C. Programme.

To many people these propositions would be accepted as almost axiomatic, but the aim of the research team was to test their validity by a scientifically designed research method which is described in detail. Over a period of two years, two separate experiments were carried out for this purpose in such a way that the effect of each factor could be assessed both separately and together. In the first experiment some workers were not given training, but had their work loads reduced; some had training with the normal work load; some had both training and work loads reduced and some had neither training nor reduced work loads. The training was given by a skilled training supervisor and, for those workers whose work loads were reduced, this was effected by cutting the normal load of about 100 cases to fifty cases and by not requiring these workers to deal with applications for assistance. It was considered that by controlled experiments such as these it would be possible to infer by comparison the independent or combined effects of training and reduced work loads.

The second experiment was on a broader basis and differed from the first in two important ways. Firstly, the training was given by the skilled training supervisor to supervisors only; the latter in turn passed it on to the workers.

Secondly, the reduction in work loads was not effected by a reduction in actual cases, but by the simplification of procedures and the reallocation of clerical duties to other workers. As in the first experiment, control groups were set up.

The problems involved in launching these experiments and carrying them out are described (e.g. in the selection of the workers participating and in estimating their existing effectiveness as case workers) and in measuring the results (e.g. the effect on the workers themselves and on the families seen by them). They reveal so many variable factors that the tentative and inferential nature of the conclusions arrived at is not unexpected.

It is claimed that the research showed that the effect of training and reduced work loads produced "selected areas of change" for workers and families; that the most effective training appeared to be that given by the professionally trained social workers (although this must be coupled with ample time for interviewing and even then might have to be continued for a considerable time); and that reduced work loads would not alone change a worker's knowledge, skills and attitudes, but would at best allow him to make better use of what he already knows.

The authors stress quite rightly that any conclusions must necessarily be drawn cautiously in view of the limitations of the experiments, but they consider that the important implications are that the evidence does not sustain the view that in-service training and reduced work loads are simple assured methods for improving casework. They hope that the research might prove a basis and a pattern for further experiments and no doubt this book will be of academic interest to social welfare research students in the United States; apart from this, it is doubtful whether the results achieved are commensurate with the time and energy spent on this project.

There is an interesting Appendix which gives details of the in-service training programme, but it is difficult to comment on it since faulty printing has caused the repetition of several pages in the place of missing pages (e.g. page 78 is reprinted at what should be page 116, &c.).

T. EDEN

The British Economy 1920-57

By A. J. YOUNGSON. George Allen & Unwin, 1960. Pp. 272. 28s.

PROFESSOR YOUNGSON, deplored the lack of any general study of British economic history of the last forty years, offers this book as a modest attempt to fill the gap for the general reader. One reason for the deficiency is the mass of material to be handled. Then it was possible to get a useful, if not a complete, understanding of the rise of new and the decay of old industries in the nineteenth century in terms of the development of British technologies, while the migration of population could be regarded as due to changed internal employment opportunities, and the rise of the coal industry and the mechanization of transport thought of without special reference to events in other countries. It was Britain which set the pace. And the banking and trade crises were not, compared with modern experience, complicated.

The period after 1920, with which the book deals, also includes a great migration of labour and a dramatic change in our industrial structure. Coal and cotton, which as late as 1938 were second and third on the list of "export" industries, by 1957 fell to the ninth and fourteenth places. But many of these changes were in large measure a response to external pressures, and the discussion has this time to be in terms, not simply of old and new British technologies, but of the relative costs and prices of similar industries elsewhere. It was not paying the world to concentrate as large a proportion of some of these industries in this country as heretofore. The analysis of the shattering experiences of the trade cycle, of large-scale structural unemployment, the abandonment of the gold standard for a managed currency, and the scrutiny of relative costs and the balance of payments requires an understanding of monetary theory and the use of techniques appropriate to the economist. The knowledge which enabled the historian of the nineteenth century to deal with Gladstone's budgets would not in itself be adequate for appraising the effect of modern budgets on the level of activity in the economy. (This is not altered by the fact that, as Ashton has demonstrated, some new

questions can be asked and new techniques applied to the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.) But it is one reason why historians whose interest has been in the traditional treatment of the nineteenth century have been tardy in advancing into the post-1918 period, and why it is rather the economist who is tending to take it over, for he sees in it experiments which will enlighten and be enlightened by his theories.

The book is therefore to be welcomed because the author has set out the story with due emphasis on some of the fundamental theoretical and monetary questions involved. Three chapters divide the narrative into the nineteen-twenties, the crisis of 1929-32 and the nineteen-thirties, and are followed by chapters on the period of the war and that from 1945-57. A further section discusses the relation of theory and policy in the inter-war period.

It is high time the task was tackled, because most of the events and experiences of the period which made such a deep impression on the minds and judgements of the teachers and politicians who lived through them occurred before the young students now entering on their studies were born: these, now living in a very different atmosphere, can learn of them only through books, and the passions of the time have left behind some fictions which, as the author observes, need correction.

It was to be expected that in a summary book on so eventful a period some topics would have to be treated a little sketchily or even omitted. The debates on the social services had rather more to them than a brief account could suggest; the build-up of trade union opinion and emotion which led masses of men into a general strike to support workers in another industry in 1926 is not accounted for simply by movements of real wages. But the problems of the old and new industries are well brought out. And it would have been easy to look back on and to assess the inter-war period in the light of the full experience and of today's theory, but the author shows how many of the

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problems presented themselves to successive Governments as short-run problems demanding immediate steps and finds that in dealing with some of them Governments and civil servants did not do so badly.

The omission of a bibliography is a pity, since it cannot be said that the footnotes cover the sources needed to

guide the reader in his selection from the bulk of material available. There is an unlucky misprint on p. 239 which refers to the "glutability line" as the "gullibility line." The book is a useful and much wanted introduction.

P. FORD

BOOK NOTES

Defence : Policy and Strategy

By E. J. KINGSTON-MCCLOUGHRY.
Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1960. Pp. 272.
25s.

"This work is not an attempt to formulate strategy : the mechanism already exists for that purpose. It is rather an effort to define or provide a basis for the formulation of national strategy . . ." states Air Vice-Marshal Kingston-McCloughry in the preface to his book. He deals with the very complex problems involved in the evolution of defence policy and lays great stress on the need to plan in terms of a national and allied strategy. The mere co-ordination of service strategies with home defence can no longer provide, he says, the basis for an adequate defence policy and national strategy.

Public Administration

By JOHN M. PFIFFNER and ROBERT V. PRESTHUS. The Ronald Press Company, New York, 1960. Pp. 570. \$7.00.

THIS is the fourth edition of a standard American text which first appeared in 1935. It is designed to give university and college students an account of public administration at all levels of government. This new edition lays emphasis on both the formal content of public administration and "the 'political' and human realities of the administrative process."

The Forest Ranger : A Study in Administrative Behaviour

By HERBERT KAUFMAN. John Hopkins University Press. London : Oxford University Press, 1960. Pp. 259. 40s.

In any organization the execution by the lower grades of policy laid down by the leaders is usually regarded as a matter of course. But the implementation of policy requires much planning and work. This book is concerned with the problem of co-operation between planners and field officers in the United States Forest Service. The Service has enjoyed considerable success in producing field behaviour consistent with headquarters directives and suggestions. The author sets out to find how this has been accomplished in an organization which contains powerful human and geographical factors for disunity.

Wages in the Metropolis

By MARTIN SEGAL. Harvard University Press. London : Oxford University Press. Pp. 211. 38s.

THIS book is the fourth volume to appear in the New York Metropolitan Region Study which is being undertaken by the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration for the Regional Plan Association, Inc. Its major aim is to

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provide an understanding of the part played by wage levels in influencing the location of industries in the New York Metropolitan Region, and the part they may yet play in the future. It also seeks to indicate the role played by labour skills in attracting industry to the area.

Commentary on the Constitution of India

Third Edition. Two volumes. Pp. 875 and 847. £3 each volume.

Shorter Constitution of India

Second Edition, 1959. Pp. 680. Rs. 23s.

Introduction to the Constitution of India

Pp. 362, 1960. Rs. 10s.

All by DURGA DAS BASU. S. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., Calcutta.

PREVIOUS editions of Basu's *Commentary on the Constitution of India* received warm praise from many noted authorities in the legal world. The first edition of this work examined the ideas and influences which motivated the framers of the Indian Constitution. In so doing the author found it necessary to analyse the sources in detail, particularly in regard to the judicial interpretation of the relevant provisions of different Constitutions. As a result the volume contained the nucleus of a treatise on comparative government and comparative constitutional law. The second edition developed this feature a stage further to present not only a comparative study but an independent treatment of the major foreign systems, in particular those of England and the United States. The third edition represents a still further development. The author has now produced a treatise on "the universal principles of Justice and Constitutional Government with special reference to the organic instrument of India." *The Shorter Constitution of India* is intended as a book of reference for busy practitioners. It is intended as both a supplement to the *Commentary* and as an abridgement of its legal aspects. The *Introduction to the Constitution of India* is meant as a comprehensive and reliable introduction to the Constitution for general readers as well as students.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

United Nations, 1960. Pp. 65. 5s. EQUAL pay for men and women for work of equal value has now become an accepted principle of social policy almost everywhere, though implementation of this principle still lags far behind in many countries. This pamphlet reviews the progress made in the acceptance and implementation of the equal pay principle. It indicates briefly the various arrangements and methods used to apply this principle in different countries and the problems which arise from its widening application. The appendices include a country by country review of the progress made towards the adoption of equal pay in terms of legal enactments, and also the text of the Equal Remuneration Convention and Recommendation together with a list of countries which had ratified the Convention up to October 1959.

The Crown Estate : An Historical Essay

By R. B. PUGH. H.M.S.O., 1960. Pp. 38. 2s. 6d.

THIS essay was published to commemorate the Bicentenary of the Sovereign's first surrender of the Land Revenues and the 150th Anniversary of the first appointment of Commissioners. It is an interesting account of the growth and contraction of "the royal desmesne" from the time of Edward the Confessor down to the present day. The pamphlet also includes a list of the properties which now comprise the Crown Estate, giving details of their individual acreage and how they became part of that Estate.

Comparative Studies in Administration

Edited by JAMES D. THOMPSON and others. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959. Pp. 224. \$3.95 (paper), \$6.00 (boards).

A FEATURE of recent American studies in administration has been an attempt to develop a scientific approach to the subject. A broad body of theory is sought which will have general meaning for more than one type of institution. This volume, prepared by the Administrative Service Centre in the University of Pittsburgh,

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must be viewed in this context. It consists of a series of articles reproduced from American journals on aspects of administration in a number of diversified organizations, the aim being to seek what is termed "the constants or universals in administration."

tells of a problem which is still a long way from solution.

Scientists in Government

By EARL W. LINDVEIT. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1960. Pp. 84. \$3.25.

THE Federal Government is a major employer of scientists in the United States. The effectiveness of the nation's scientific effort therefore depends in large measure on the Government's ability to attract and retain adequate numbers of highly skilled scientists. Dr Lindveit analyses the problems involved in the recruitment, training and retention of scientists in federal employment and describes some of the organizations involved in the formulation of scientific manpower policy.

Etudes et Documents, 1959

THIS is the thirteenth year that under the Editorship of its distinguished Vice-President, M. René Cassin, the Conseil d'Etat has published this valuable report. In addition to a survey of the work of the various sections of the Council during 1959, this edition contains a bibliography on the history of the Conseil d'Etat, and an article by Mr Neville Brown on the British Tribunals and Inquiries Act, 1958.

Handicapped Youth

By T. FERGUSON and AGNES W. KERR. O.U.P., 1960. Pp. 141. 15s.

THIS is a study for the Nuffield Foundation of almost 1,000 handicapped young people after they left school in Glasgow, of whom nearly 600 had physical and 400 had mental handicaps. The report is mainly a statistical analysis, but made more vivid by a number of short case histories. It

Statistical Year Book, 1959

United Nations. Pp. 618. 57s. (paper) 71s. (cloth).

THIS volume presents a wealth of comparative international statistics on demographic, economic, financial and cultural subjects, covering generally the period from 1948 onwards.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

BRITISH EUROPEAN AIRWAYS

Annual report and accounts 1959-60. H.C. 267. pp. 105. Illus. 1960. 8s.

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION

Annual report and accounts 1959-60.

H.C. 266. pp. vi, 56. Folding map. 1960. 4s. 6d.

BRITISH TRANSPORT COMMISSION

Annual report and accounts 1959. Vol. I —Report. H.C. 226. pp. v, 97. Illus. 1960. 6s.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Report and accounts for 1959. H.C. 211. pp. v, 77. 1960. 5s.

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COLONIAL OFFICE

Colonial research 1958-59. Cmnd. 938. pp. 419. 1959. 18s.

EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF

Education in 1959. Cmnd. 1088. pp. viii, 253. Illus. 1960. 14s. 6d.

Grants to students. Report of the Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education and the Secretary of State for Scotland in June 1958. Cmnd. 1051. pp. xii, 135. 1960. 6s. 6d.

The Youth service in England and Wales. Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1958 (The Albemarle Committee). Cmnd. 929. pp. iv, 135. 1960. 6s.

EXCHEQUER AND AUDIT DEPARTMENT

Trading accounts and balance sheets 1958-59. H.C. 43. pp. ix, 130. 1959. 8s.

HEALTH, MINISTRY OF

Report of the Ministry of Health for the year ended 31st December 1959—Part I. 1. The National Health Service (including a chapter on International Health). 2. Welfare, food and drugs, Civil Defence. Cmnd. 1086. pp. xxii, 281. 1960. 13s.

HOME OFFICE

Prisons and Borstals, England and Wales. pp. ix, 95. 4th edition. Illus. 1960. 7s.

Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1959. Cmnd. 1106. pp. 95. 1960. 5s.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF

Report of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 1959. Cmnd. 1027. pp. xiv, 229. 1960. 10s. 6d.

LABOUR, MINISTRY OF

Annual report of the Ministry of Labour, 1959. Cmnd. 1059. pp. viii, 120. 1960. 7s.

NEW TOWNS ACT, 1946

Reports of the Cumbernauld, East Kilbride, and Glenrothes Development Corporations for the year ended 31st March 1960. H.C. 268. pp. 139. Illus., folding plans. 1960. 8s.

PENSIONS AND NATIONAL INSURANCE, MINISTRY OF

Report of the Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance for the year 1959. Cmnd. 1133. pp. xii, 140. Illus., tabs, supplement in pocket: "Influenza epidemic 1959." 1960. 8s.

POLICE

Report of H.M. Inspectors of Constabulary, 1958-59. H.C. 257. pp. 34. 1960. 2s.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON DOCTORS' AND DENTISTS' REMUNERATION

Appendix to the Minutes of Evidence. Selection of witnesses' supplementary statements. pp. 77. 1960. 4s.

SCOTTISH HOME DEPARTMENT

Custodial sentences for young offenders. Report of the Scottish Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders. pp. 29. 1960. 1s. 6d.

Prisons in Scotland. Report for 1959. Cmnd. 1048. pp. 63. 1960. 3s. 6d.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES, 1959-60

Special Report, No. 2—United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (Observations of the Minister for Science). H.C. 80. pp. 5. 1960. 6d.

Fourth Special Report, 1959-60—Sale of Military Equipment Abroad. Commonwealth Relations Office. H.C. 250. pp. 12. 1960. 9d.

Fifth Special Report, 1959-60—Custom and Excise. H.C. 290. pp. 4. 1960. 4d.

Sixth Special Report, 1959-60—Medical Services of the Armed Forces. H.C. 291. pp. 12. 1960. 9d.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES

Report from the Select Committee on Nationalized Industries—British Railways. H.C. 254. pp. civ. 1960. 5s. 6d.

TREASURY

Navy Estimates 1960-61. H.C. 87. pp. 288. 1960. 14s. 6d.

UNITED KINGDOM ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY

Sixth Annual Report 1959-60. H.C. 243. pp. vi, 72. Illus. 1960. 5s.

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